

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, RICHMOND (100-10658)

b6
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DATE: 8/27/68

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT
(COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)

Re Bulets to Albany, 5/10, 5/28 and 7/5/68.

ReBulet 5/10/68 pointed out that the purpose of captioned program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents.

This letter instructed that on or before 6/1/68 all offices were to submit to the Bureau a detailed analysis of potential counterintelligence action against New Left organizations and Key Activists within their respective territories. Specific recommendations were to be included for any immediate counterintelligence action.

This letter emphasized that no counterintelligence action may be initiated by the field without specific Bureau authority.

THE LETTER FURTHER INSTRUCTED THAT COMMENCING 7/1/68 AND EVERY THREE MONTHS THEREAFTER, each office must submit to the Bureau a status letter covering the prior three month period, including comments under the following captions:

- (1) Potential Counterintelligence Action
- (2) Pending Counterintelligence Action
- (3) Tangible Results

If necessary, a fourth caption "Miscellaneous" may be used.

3 - Richmond
(1 - 100-10658)

1 - SA [REDACTED]
1 - SA [REDACTED]

WBW/vlr

(3)

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100-10658-9

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 27 1968	
FBI - RICHMOND	



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RH 100-10658

ReBulet 5/28/68 instructed each office in LHM suitable for dissemination to furnish the following by 7/3/68:

- (1) Identity of all New Left organizations, a characterization of each and approximate membership
- (2) Identity of the ringleaders in each group with detailed background information, including any subversive data and a summary of activities in the New Left movement.
- (3) Summarize campus disruptive activities during the past year, including organizations involved, issues, violence which erupted and final outcome of the disorder.

This was to include also information on any outside influence and student and faculty participation.

As noted in Bulet 5/10/68 the next status letter containing information set out above, ^{under TPS} will be due to reach the Bureau by 10/1/68.

This memo is being designated for those Agents who it is felt because of past experience in their respective territories, are most likely to encounter activity by the New Left and have the greatest opportunity to apply counterintelligence measures.

Agents receiving this memo are requested to bear in mind the above Bureau requirements in connection with the three months status letter due 10/1/68 and every three months thereafter.

Pertinent information reflecting action taken in regard to the three captions set out above should be furnished to reach Richmond by 9/20/68 for incorporation ^{under TPS} in the letter due 10/1/68.



Best Copy Available
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Richmond, Virginia

December 2, 1968

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Students For A Democratic Society Chapter
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

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On May 15, 1968, [redacted] University of Virginia (UVA), Charlottesville, Virginia, advised that there was a movement under foot on the UVA campus to establish a chapter of the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) and that the group was going to attempt to obtain student council recognition for the organization. [redacted] advised that he did not know the extent of the possible membership for the UVA Chapter of SDS or its organizers, but that he would attempt to develop additional information.

On May 16, 1968, [redacted] called attention to a letter to the editor of "The Cavalier Daily" for May 16, 1968, page two, signed [redacted], 2nd Year College, which in substance reported that the Virginia Chapter of the SDS received authorization from National Headquarters and solicited interested persons to contact either [redacted] or [redacted] at telephone number [redacted].

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[redacted] made available copy of "The Cavalier Daily" for that date which stated in part as follows:

"We honestly believe that token solutions to what are becoming the chronic problems in the University Community, and American society as a whole, will no longer suffice. The lack of truly radical alternatives to these token solutions has created an ideological and practical vacuum which we of the SDS hope to fill. The failure of deeds to keep peace with even

- 8 - Bureau (100-439048) (RM)
- 1 - USSS, Richmond, Va. (via FD-342) (RM)
- 1 - 109th MIG, Richmond, Va. "
- 1 - USNISO, Norfolk, Va. SEARCHED _____

REB/pfm
(16) *pfm*

SERIALIZED *u*
INDEXED *e*
FILED _____

5 Richmond
(2 - 100-10252)
(1 - 100-10658)
(1 - 100-10678)
(1 - 100-10677)

100-10658-16

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"the tepid rhetorical pronouncements from Pavilion VIII and the editorial columns of the Cavalier Daily, has created a demand for a Leftist philosophy that is no longer embodied in the passive hopes of the Great White Liberals, who have previously constituted the 'radical' left at the University. For a number of years now, this University has comfortably seated itself atop a racial and social powderkeg; we welcome those who care enough to help set off the fuse."

On May 17, 1968, [] reported that he had received information that both [] and [] were transferring out of UVA and would not return in the fall of 1968. [] advised that he did not know what schools [] and [] intended to attend, but he would attempt to find out. [] also advised that the matter was expected to be brought before the student council in an attempt by the SDS group to obtain recognition on Tuesday, May 21, 1968, which would be the last meeting of the student council for the year. [] also advised that he had a recent discussion with [], who had been an officer in the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC) and [] advised him that he had become disenchanted with the SSOC and was no longer a member. In the conversation, [] indicated that the SSOC was opposed to the SDS, considering it as a dangerous "New Left" with reaction to existing groups.

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On May 22, 1968, [] reported that on the previous evening, the student council had declined to recognize the University chapter of the SDS by a twelve to four vote, but the matter had been subsequently put to another vote from the floor and the final vote had been nine to seven against recognition.

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[] advised that apparently the fate of the SDS attempt for recognition was based on a lack of sufficient organization in existence at the time of its attempted acceptance. He advised that some of the supporters for recognition, although not sympathetic to the group, apparently felt that the local chapter should not be held responsible for national activity until itself violated any rules of the University and further that some members of the council did not desire to make a value judgment on the group's ideas.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"The Cavalier Daily" for May 24, 1968, page four, in an article captioned "Unauthorized Society Plans Illegal Meeting", reported that members of SDS, which had been refused recognition by the student council, had scheduled an "illegal" meeting for 8:00 P.M., Monday, at the Newcomb Hall South Meeting Room. The article reported that Hank Chase and David Longfellow, officers of the group, told "The Cavalier Daily" that they were willing to cooperate with the administration and the regulations and asked to be recognized, but were refused at the outset the opportunity to work within existing regulations. The SDS leaders charged that the student council was "blatantly fascist" and "absurdly biased" in its action in denying recognition to the group. The leaders were further quoted as saying that the SDS must operate outside the prescribed regulations or else permit the council to dictate its private policy to it. Having been rebuffed, the SDS accepted the council's challenge.

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On May 27, 1968, [redacted] advised that the administration was quite concerned with the SDS scheduled meeting for Newcomb Hall to be held that night in defiance of regulations. He advised that the administration had decided that if the meeting was held or any problems encountered, the SDS people present would be asked to leave and, if failing to leave, would be arrested on trespass charges and be expelled from the University.

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On May 29, 1968, [redacted] advised that at the meeting of May 27, 1968, the [redacted], which is the Student Union Building, had decided in order to avoid an issue on the matter due to the nearness of the end of the school year, he had labeled the meeting as an organizational meeting to avoid any possible question of misuse by the organization of University facilities which are denied to groups not recognized by student council. [redacted] advised thus the confrontation issue had been avoided by the University administration. [redacted] pointed out that [redacted] of the UVA, has been quite outspoken in speeches and published reports against the so-called "New Left" and could be expected to deal firmly and vigorously with any problems which might arise from the existence of a SDS Chapter at UVA.

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The "Daily Progress", a Charlottesville, Virginia daily newspaper, for May 29, 1968, in an article, page 1-B, captioned "Question Is What Is Legal As Student Activists Meet" reported in part that SDS founders Henry Chase and David Longfellow scheduled a meeting for Newcomb Hall and proclaimed in posters that since the group was not recognized by the council, the meeting on University property was illegal, but would be held nonetheless.

The article reported that Newcomb Hall Director John Herring insisted the meeting was legal, citing a Newcomb Hall rule that facilities of the building were available to groups in process of organizing with a view toward student council recognition.

[] insisted the meeting was not organizational and the group had no interest in council recognition. [] who attended the meeting, said he was involved to a point of tension and insisted it was legal anyway.

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The article covering the meeting reported that agitation for a study of University housing was high on the list of priorities, as well as the downhill situation of the Alderman Library. Chase was quoted as seeking a fixed number of Negro students admitted reflecting the percentages of Negroes in Virginia and also questioned the amount of cooperation given by University administration to Federal narcotics agents investigating students' use of marijuana. He said SDS not only wants to end such cooperation if it exists, but wants the administration to adopt a permissive policy on drugs. Other SDS programs were to end University participation in the ROTC Program and to establish an anti-orientation session in the fall to disindoctrinate entering students.

On May 28, 1968, a confidential source, another Governmental agency which conducts intelligence-type investigations, advised that a meeting of the SDS was held on May 27, 1968. Source stated that approximately 29 students were in attendance, representing both the SDS and SSOC. Source reported the group was critical of the NROTC using classrooms and questioned the lease arrangements involving the use of Naval Reserve Units of Halsey Hall. He also

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

reported that [] and [] both stated they would attend the University of California at Berkeley next year. He also reported that a three-man executive committee of the SDS would choose a chairman at some later date and identified them as [] and []. He also advised that it was announced that the SDS and the SSOC plan to hold joint meetings next year when it is expected the SDS will have been recognized by the student council.

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Charlottesville, Virginia "Daily Progress" for May 29, 1968, page 1-B, in an article captioned "SDS Elects Committee" reported that a three-man executive committee had been elected for the SDS at UVA. The three who will choose a chairman at a later date were identified as Thurmond Wenzel, third-year graduate student, Joseph Sydnor, first-year Liberal Arts, and Lennart Walloff, fourth-year architecturer. The article reported that SDS founders Henry Chase and David Longfellow will not be in Charlottesville next year. Chase said he will attend the University of California at Berkeley and Longfellow plans to spend his junior year in Paris at the Sorbonne.

On June 8, 1968, [] advised that [] had attempted to have some leaflets printed for the SDS at the Newcomb Hall of the University with some anti-Vietnam material, but he had been refused permission to have the material reproduced since the SDS had not been accepted as a campus organization. [] advised that subsequently [] had gone to Newcomb Hall as a representative of the "Charlottesville Draft Opposition" which, according to [], had been accepted as a University organization, and, accordingly, the material was to be printed. [] advised it was his understanding that the material was probably going to be distributed at the University commencement exercises to be held on Sunday, June 9, 1968.

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[], born [], at Mineola, New York, and a graduate student at UVA, on March 5, 1968, obtained [] at the University Station Post Office on behalf of the Charlottesville Draft Opposition, indicating in his application for the Post Office Box the kind of business was "support for conscientious objectors". [] address was listed as [], Virginia, telephone [].

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The Charlottesville Draft Opposition had circulated a mimeographed sheet entitled "Vietnam Commencement" which contained [] telephone number and the above-described Post Office Box and had attached pledges of support to draft resisters and pledges to refuse induction which were requested to be signed and returned to the [].

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Student directory for UVA lists [] [] second-year college student (University dormitory), with permanent residence address at [] Texas.

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Directory also lists [] [] (University dormitory), as a second-year student with permanent residence address at [] Virginia.

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The UVA directory lists [] [] (University dormitory), as a first-year college student with permanent residence as [] [], England.

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[] [] fourth-year architectural student, is listed as residing at [] [], with permanent residence address as [] [] New Jersey.

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The "New Left Notes" issue of June 24, 1968, contained an article entitled "New SDS's" in which it stated that among the new chapters recognized provisionally by the (outgoing) National Secretary, as directed by the Constitution pending the next meeting of the National Council was the University of Virginia Chapter, Charlottesville, Virginia.

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On September 30, 1968, [] [] UVA, advised that there was no known organized SDS activity by the UVA Chapter during the summer recess at UVA.

He stated that the first SDS meeting for the current academic year 1968-69 was an organizational meeting which was called for and held on September 23, 1968, by the Executive Committee of the SDS: [] [] and [] []

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[] [] who had met last May to plan the Virginia Chapter of the SDS at UVA. He advised that [] was the discussion leader

STUDENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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for the meeting until it was turned over to [redacted], also known as [redacted], a first-year student in the College of Arts and Sciences, whose permanent address is [redacted] [redacted], Arizona. He noted that passed at the meeting were three motions:

- 1) Agreement by plurality vote to call the group SDS;
- 2) Agreement by majority vote to seek Student Council recognition; and
- 3) The setting up of the following subcommittees:
 - a) Committee for a Free University, headed by [redacted];
 - b) Committee on Racism, headed by [redacted] [redacted]; and
 - c) Anti-draft Committee, headed by [redacted] [redacted], a third-year student in the College of Arts and Sciences, whose permanent address is [redacted], New York.

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[redacted] noted that recognition from the student council is merely a rubberstamp procedure and by registering with the student council the SDS Chapter will automatically be recognized and be able to use the UVA facilities for its functions or anti-functions.

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In the September 25, 1968, issue of "The Cavalier Daily" there was a letter to the editor written by Geoffrey R. Pitts, a second-year student in the College of Arts and Sciences, which expressed his dissatisfaction concerning the SDS meeting of September 23, 1968, and reads in part as follows:

"Dear Sir: I feel a bit deceived about a meeting I attended part of the past Monday night in Newcomb Hall. Advertised in 'The Cavalier Daily' (9/23/68) as a meeting of the Charlottesville Draft Opposition and inviting all interested persons, including Students for a Democratic Society, it turned out to be a formative and organizational

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"meeting for a local chapter of the SDS. This was very disturbing to me and I imagine to other students who attended out of a belief in peace, a desire to end the war, and a feeling that the present draft situation is unjust. We were met by members of an organization which, if it does not denote, at least connotes militarism and violent activism..... The University, Charlottesville, and the South may need many things and may have a long way to go, but we do not need an organization like the SDS and we do not have to go in the direction of Berkeley or Columbia." Signed: "Geoffrey R. Pitts, 2nd Year College."

On October 4, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that approximately 125 students attended the meeting held on September 23, 1968, but most of them were curiosity seekers, including some opponents of the SDS, and students who were under the impression from the announcement that appeared in "The Cavalier Daily" that they were attending an informative meeting concerning the draft. He informed that upon realizing that the meeting was in reality an SDS organizational meeting, most of these in attendance left the meeting in disgust and disappointment. He stated that approximately 50 remained for the meeting, in part made up of those who were in opposition to the establishment of a SDS Chapter. He judged that only about 15 to 20 attendants appeared to have any real interest in the establishment of SDS and its organization.

On October 25, 1968, a third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, a representative of another governmental agency, which conducts intelligence investigations, advised that a debate between representatives of the UVA Navy, Army and Air Force ROTC Units has been scheduled to take place on October 29, 1968, at 3:15 p.m. in Cabell Hall Auditorium, UVA. The scheduled debate allegedly replaced a demonstration which was supposed to have taken place on October 22, 1968, at the UVA ROTC parade and drill field but which was cancelled.

On November 4, 1968, the third source advised that the debate between representatives of the UVA Army, Navy and Air Force ROTC Units and the SDS took place on October 29, 1968, and the participants were [redacted] and [redacted] also known as [redacted] a graduate student, residing at [redacted] Virginia (active

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in SSOC, UVA Chapter), represented SDS and [redacted] Army ROTC, [redacted], Navy ROTC, and [redacted] Air Force ROTC, were representing the ROTC Units in the debate. The debate was concerning the validity or non-validity of ROTC within the University environment. Second source advised that about 300 students were in attendance at the debate and it was the consensus of opinion among the spectators that the ROTC representatives won the debate overwhelmingly. Second source advised that during the course of the debate [redacted] burned what he purported to be his Selective Service Registration Card.

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"The Cavalier Daily" issue dated November 7, 1968, reflected an article on page 3, entitled "SDS Gives ROTC Position, Lists Quotes to Back Stand", a copy of which is attached.

"The Cavalier Daily" of November 7, 1968, also contained a letter to the editor from SDS which announced that on November 11, 12 and 13, 1968, from 6:00 to 7:15 p.m., in front of Alderman Library, UVA, a "Vigil For Peace" would be held. The letter stated as follows:

"Dear Sir: Many Americans are refusing to accept responsibility for their actions and for actions taken in their name. America is waging an undeclared war 8,000 miles overseas, a war which has cost 28,000 U.S. dead and untold numbers of Vietnamese slain. Many of us will not accept this as being our concern. We must recognize that this is our war, being waged in our name. We must individually bear responsibility for America's actions in this conflict.

"War Brutalizes. It brutalizes those who stay at home as well as those who fight in it. We accept low death tolls instead of demanding no death tolls. We accept chemical warfare but worry about air pollution. What has happened to our humanity? Where is the violence in the world today - is it not in people who can condone such a war as we fight in Vietnam?

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"Words alone cannot end this war. We must demonstrate our commitment to end this war and prevent all wars like it. The time to take a stand is now. We will not be deluded by any peace maneuvers - as long as there is fighting in Vietnam we must continue our demand for peace. We call upon students, faculty and administrators at the University of Virginia and all residents of Charlottesville who share our concern for peace to join in a 'Vigil For Peace November 11-12-13, 6 - 7:15 p.m. in front of Alderman Library'." Signed: "Students for a Democratic Society"

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On November 14, 1968, [redacted] [redacted], UVA, advised that on November 11, 1968, approximately 56 men and women joined in the "Vigil For Peace" in front of Alderman Library. He stated that they all stood in a "V" shape, burned candles, and there was no marching or speechmaking. He stated that it was not a picketing and there was no disorder. He noted that the vigil started at 6:00 and concluded at 6:50 p.m. because of inclement weather. [redacted] further informed that on November 12, 1968, 32 attended the "Vigil For Peace" and on November 13, 1968, 51 were in attendance. [redacted] identified [redacted] [redacted], a first-year graduate student, whose permanent address is [redacted], New York, as the Coordinator for the "Vigil For Peace" and a member of the SDS. [redacted] noted that the activity for the three days was the same.

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On November 21, 1968, [redacted] [redacted], UVA, Charlottesville, advised that the SDS Chapter at UVA is registered with the student council and it thereby is a recognized organization which has the privilege of using UVA facilities. He informed that the SDS, like other recognized organizations, must meet certain guidelines of University conduct in order to function on the University and be afforded the privileges. He noted that the SDS is not required to file any statement of objectives or aims with the student council and does not have to list its officers or membership. [redacted] informed that the records of his office list [redacted] for the SDS Chapter at UVA. [redacted] judged that the total membership of the Chapter would be approximately 20. [redacted] stated that the SDS Chapter at the University has not been the source of any particular problem to the University to date and the members have abided by the regulations of the University.

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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On November 22, 1968, [redacted] UVA, advised that the SDS Chapter at UVA has not been any source of difficulty to date. He judged the chapter to be approximately 20 in membership and identified [redacted] and [redacted] for the chapter.

On November 22, 1968, second source advised that the only real activity the UVA SDS Chapter has been involved in during the current academic year which started in September, to his knowledge, has been the debate between representatives of the UVA ROTC Units and the SDS, held on October 29, 1968, and the "Vigil For Peace" which was held at UVA November 11, 12, and 13, 1968. He noted that the SDS Chapter is operating a booth on the second floor of Newcomb Hall, UVA, selling anti-Vietnam posters. Other than that current activity, no other activity in which the SDS is engaged has come to his attention.

On page 1 of the November 14, 1968, issue of "The Cavalier Daily", there is a small article captioned "SDS Censored" which is made up in part of a picture of a poster which is being sold by SDS at UVA. The article labels the poster as "Vietnam: with a cast of thousands", and states that the SDS is selling such posters each afternoon in Newcomb Hall, UVA, to raise money for future projects. The posters caused two faculty members to call Newcomb Hall requesting the project be censored. John Herring, Director of Newcomb Hall (according to the article) said he would refer the matter to the Board of Directors but he doubted that they would bar the group.

Characterizations of the SDS and the SSOC are attached hereto.

SDS Gives ROTC Position Lists Quotes To Back Stand

The debate-discussion (which generally would be better called "moral oratory") concerning the validity or non-validity of ROTC within the University environment proved to be inherently superficial. This observation is applied to both sides represented. Why?

Within the moralistic rhetoric of the specific issue (ROTC on campus) only slight reference was made to the broader and much more critical question facing the world population in general -

- "If you give all power of protection to the military, who will protect you from the military?"

- "Capitalism actually needs shattered and atomized men... in order to maintain its system of centralized, bureaucratized, and militarized hierarchies," so as... "to perpetuate its domination over men, not only as workers, but also as consumers and citizens."

- Andre Gorz

As individuals dedicated to end the perpetuation of such an existence, SDS looks at the situation not only moralistically, but analytically as well. ROTC is an instrument of a large militaristic machine and the purpose of SDS is to affect that instrument so as to destroy the machine. In a sense we must confront and educate the members of ROTC. To accomplish this we must be in contact with ROTC members. It has been said that you can educate people by talking to them. The fact that the ROTC initiated the discussion shows their concern for the issues affecting our society. The more the ROTC member thinks about these issues, the more difficult it may become for him to fight an illegal war.

The university environment is the one place where it is impossible for the military to completely shatter and atomize these students in order to provide members for the military machine. These students become "soldiers" who do not represent the best interests of that machine because they think.

By advocating the removal of ROTC, activists advocate exactly what the military wants - the

opportunity to put these students into the completely indoctrinated environment of a service academy. For example, how much of an affect has radicalism had in the West Point or Air Force Academy environment? Those who exist in such an environment are never confronted and therefore never exposed to the reality of dissent. ROTC members are exposed to this and they must be affected by it. Is this the kind of army mentality Herr, Westmorland, etc., would like?

The ROTC members live with a lie: the credibility gap between reality and their uniform.

"What that contradiction - that daily living with a lie all adds up to is a dynamic tension and alienation. And that is the necessary subjective condition for any revolution."

- Carl Davidson

It is the duty of SDS to perpetuate that condition. ROTC members in the university environment are unconscious radicals. That radicalism becomes conscious in the Vietnamese jungles when they (still fresh from an environment that questioned the validity of that war, that machine, that system) are confronted by the reality of that war. SDS thanks the ROTC for taking a stand in the best interests of the movement. They should be commended for their desire to be here as individuals free to choose their own path. Unfortunately that path has already been chosen for them.

SDS actively supports ROTC on these environmental grounds.

We must realize that the educational environment becomes a battle ground. We still must fight for the reform of the educational system and the liberation of all students. As this occurs ROTC students shall be watching and although they may think they are far removed from it - they are, in fact, an integral part of it. This is not a matter of congeniality between ROTC and SDS to bring about reforms affecting all students.

However, to simply ignore ROTC, or to try to remove them in the way advocated by pacifists, anarchists, and other groups (which is

no different than any tactic of a Mayor, Daley or a George Wallace) only demonstrates their impotence; this will in turn strengthen the autocratic imperialistic war machine, and eventually lead to the ultimate destruction of this society by that machine.

Virginia Chapter - Students for a Democratic Society

"THE CAVALIER
DAILY"
UNIVERSITY
OF VIRGINIA

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

NOVEMBER 7, 1968

PAGE 3

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the masthead describes the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution,



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Richmond, Virginia

December 2, 1968

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference: Letterhead memorandum dated and
captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 12/2/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (100-10252) -P-

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

ReBulet, 10/31/68, requesting an LHM setting forth objectives, activities, and identity of leaders and leading activists in the SDS Chapter at the University of Virginia (UVA), Charlottesville, Va.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM regarding SDS Chapter at UVA, Charlottesville.

Sources mentioned in LHM are identified as follows:

1st source - [REDACTED] UVA Student
[REDACTED] (PROTECT)

2nd source - [REDACTED] Agent
[REDACTED] Charlottesville, Va.

3rd source - [REDACTED] Agent
[REDACTED] Charlottesville, Va.

LHM has been disseminated to the following via FD-342:

1 - U.S. Secret Service, Richmond, Va.
1 - 109th MIG, Richmond, Va.
1 - USNISO, Norfolk, Va.

3 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (REGISTERED MAIL)

⑥ Richmond

(2 - 100-10252)

(1 - 100-10677)

(1 - 100-10658)

(1 - 100-10678)

(1 - 66-2521A)

SEARCHED.....

SERIALIZED.....

INDEXED.....

REB/pfm

(9)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

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b7C
b7D

100-10658-17

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: May 5, 1969

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

BUFILE NO.: 100-449698

RICHMOND FILE NO.: 100-10658

ALEXANDRIA FILE NO.: 100-57

Due to the opening of the Alexandria Division, the following action is being taken in the captioned matter:

(a) LOCATION OF FILE

1. () Entire file is transferred to Alexandria herewith.
2. () File transferred to Alexandria, except one copy of the following serials are retained at Richmond.

-
3. (X) File is retained at Richmond but one copy of the following serials transferred to Alexandria file.

1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 9

(b) OFFICE OF ORIGIN

- () Richmond
- () Alexandria
- (X) Bureau

(c) STATUS RICHMOND

- () RUC
- () CLOSED
- () PENDING
- (X) PENDING*

(d) STATUS ALEXANDRIA

- () PENDING
- () RUC
- () CLOSED
- (X) PENDING*

1 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Alexandria (RM)

2 - Richmond

MEL:JMP (3)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

MAY 5 1969

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In view of the discontent concerning the dissolving of SSOC and the conduct of various leaders of other New Left groups such as [redacted] or SDS and by the Communist Party participants as well as other New Left organizations, it is suggested that a letter be prepared voicing the discontent at the activities at the meeting. It is proposed that this letter be suitably worded so that it would appear to come from a SSOC staffed person or SSOC participant, possibly [redacted] the University of Va. The letter could be sent to various underground media and "hippie"-type newspapers located throughout the south and other appropriate areas of the United States. A suggested list of papers would be those as listed in the SSOC Handbook, Spring, 1969.

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b7C

It is felt that a letter of the above described nature would be of great benefit in continuing the factionalism which has developed in the New Left and particularly the SDS. It is felt that this would have a beneficial effect encountering any penetration in the southern part of the United States and continue to cause factionalism in the New Left.

Richmond will prepare such a letter as mentioned above and will furnish a copy of the letter to the Bureau if the mailing of such a letter meets with Bureau approval.

"It's ironic that shortly after the Mt. Beulah thing, the very group that so very strenuously pursued and destroyed SSOC has all but destroyed itself. I wonder if they have had a post-mortem on this.

"In an article which appeared in the June 30th issue of 'The Bird', Sue Threasher said 'When you ferret out all the bitterness and extraneous attacks, you're left having to believe that either SDS really believed that SSOC had to be destroyed because it was a liberal organization or that the dissolution was brought about by internal SDS politics'. History has shown all too well that the latter is the correct answer to what caused the destruction of SSOC.

"Too much has been said by too many people who know too little while thinking they know too much about liberals, radicals, and revolution. SSOC acted or attempted to act as the catalyst for social change. The battlefield was its immediate environment - the South. SSOC was an organization that existed to get things we didn't like changed. That was what SSOC was!!

"Society has created the environment for radical, positive change - not to waste time talking about organization, discipline and adherence to narrowly defined versions of ideology as those in SDS and its many internal factions would have you do.

"Just as it did after the Civil War, the cold wind of destruction has blown over the South and Mt. Beulah and destroyed that which was good and that which was doing something to change what it did not like. SSOC is dead - just as those who died in the Civil War are dead. It's a shame that the impetus behind the death of SSOC was SDS's internal politics.

"Since Mt. Beulah, nothing has grown or come forward to replace SSOC. The destroyer, SDS, has gone off on its many varied ways of self-destruction, arguing within itself over the theories of the movement."

RH 100-10658

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Richmond proposes to mail this letter to the above-mentioned groups, if approved by the Bureau, above the name of [REDACTED] which is the pen name of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] lamenting the demise of SSOC by SDS.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Kelley Defends Plan To Curb Extremists

WASHINGTON (UPI)—FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley defended Friday a "counterintelligence" operation the late J. Edgar Hoover set up in the late 1960s to "expose" and "neutralize" New Left extremist activities.

Kelley said that while the countermoves against the New Left activists may be subject to criticism now that "peace" has returned, the government must have some way to "meet the challenge of those who use any means to foment revolution."

"While such a counter intelligence program may not be the answer, there must be some effective way for the federal government to meet the challenge..."

Kelley disclosed that he and Acting Atty. Gen. Robert H. Bork have discussed the situation and agreed that an evaluation of the FBI's reaction to national security emergencies should continue.

The FBI made public Hoover memos about the project Thursday after Bork decided not to appeal a U.S. District Court ruling that NBC newsman Carl Stern was entitled to see the memos under the 1966 Freedom of Information Act.

One memo issued on May 10, 1968, set up the project called "COINTELPRO —New Left" and the other, dated April 28, 1971, terminated the project without explanation. The FBI did not make public any of the information gathered under the project.

Kelley said he wanted to explain Hoover's project further "because of the misconceptions, misapprehensions and false conclusions" that could be drawn from the partial disclosure.

He reviewed incidents of the "atmosphere of lawlessness": more than 300 acts of arson, nine persons killed and almost 600 injured on college campuses, and threats to sabotage power and water supplies and to disrupt transportation and communications.

"Now in the context of a different era where peace has returned ... some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counterintelligence program," Kelley said.

He said he shared the public's "deep concern about citizens' right to privacy and preservation of all rights under the Constitution" but he said the late 1960s were a time when "a hard-core revolutionary movement which came to be known as the 'New Left' set out, in its own words, to bring the government to its knees through the use of force and violence."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE A-15

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7c

Date: 12-8-73

Edition: MORNING

Author:

Editor:

Title: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Character:

or

Classification: 100-10658

Submitting Office RICHMOND

☐ Being Investigated

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
DEC 10 1973	
FBI - RICHMOND	

Original sent to ...

12-11-73

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Files Reported Explosive

Tactics to Meet New Left Threat

By Margaret Gentry

WASHINGTON (AP) — Secret FBI files contain potentially explosive information describing tactics used in a calculated effort to destroy the New Left movement, according to informed Justice Department sources.

The material is so sensitive that only a handful of officials outside the FBI know even general details of the so-called counterintelligence program operated nationwide for three years.

Few officials will discuss it even on a confidential basis for fear of disturbing delicate negotiations that could lead to at least partial public disclosure.

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley refuses to discuss details.

However, knowledgeable sources say the program involved the widespread use of agents-provocateurs to infiltrate leftist groups and encourage them to undertake possibly violent activities.

"Inspire Action"

The late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said as much when he told FBI field offices, in the 1968 memorandum establishing the program, to "also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant."

Hoover ordered the program on May 10, 1968, and terminated it without explanation in a memo on April 28, 1971. Department sources say Ramsey Clark, who was attorney general when it began, never knew about it. John N. Mitchell, the attorney general during the remainder of the program, probably knew nothing about it.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE E-6

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
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Date: 12-9-73

Edition: MORNING

Author: [REDACTED]

Editor: [REDACTED]

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12-11-73
Original sent to Bureau by R/S

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The sources say they doubt that President Nixon or former President Lyndon B. Johnson knew of it.

The bare-bones Hoover memos and the FBI refusal to disclose additional information raise scores of questions about the tactics, the scope of the operation, and the legality and constitutionality of some of the methods.

Similar Plan

The Hoover operation bears a similarity to a domestic security plan drafted by a former White House aide and approved, at least briefly, by Nixon.

The White House security plan surfaced in connection with the Watergate investigation. As outlined in 1970 memos written by Tom Charles Huston, then a White House aide, the plan was to force Hoover to accept a joint intelligence operation with the other national security and intelligence agencies.

The targets were "individuals and groups in the United States who pose a major threat to the internal security" and the tactics were to include illegal burglaries and mail interceptions, widespread wiretapping, and a vastly expanded network of informers on college campuses.

Throughout the planning stage, Huston wrote, Hoover strenuously objected to the White House project, insisting that "current operations are perfectly satisfactory" and that no one outside the FBI "has any business commenting on" FBI intelligence operations.

Nixon, in a statement last May 22, said that on July 23, 1970, he had ordered implementation of the plan, including break-ins. But Nixon said he was "prompted by the opposition of Director Hoover" to retract the order five days later.

The Hoover operation also lends support to the allegations of widespread and possibly illegal spying conducted by the FBI against several radical activists involved in recent trials. The allegations have been made by defense lawyers who demanded access to relevant FBI documents.

In those cases, federal prosecutors have dropped the charges rather than disclose the information.

Another angle is the ~~intention~~ of civil suits against department and FBI officials claiming damages for alleged violation of constitutional rights because of unjustified harassment. Two suits seeking nearly \$30 million have filed in the last five months.

Justice Department sources acknowledge that FBI officials may have violated the law with some counterintelligence tactics. But FBI officials have insisted in private meetings that no illegal or unconstitutional action was taken.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Priority Given Review of FBI

WASHINGTON (UPI) — After a court made public two FBI memos on action against the political left, Acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork placed a "top priority" label on review of the Bureau's counterintelligence operations.

But Bork said yesterday he would leave the study, which he described as an analysis of FBI policies and programs, to his probable successor, Sen. William B. Saxbe, R-Ohio.

One phase of the review concerns what the FBI actually did during a three year counterintelligence program which the late Director J. Edgar Hoover set up to combat alleged violent activities of new left organizations.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 12
RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7c

Date: 12/13/73

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Editor:

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100-10658-40

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DEC 13 1973	
FBI - RICHMOND	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI 'Dirty Tricks'

Reported

(C) *Washington Star News*

WASHINGTON — Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe plans to make public Monday details of Federal Bureau of Investigation counterintelligence programs, secretly authorized over a period of 15 years by the late director, J. Edgar Hoover, which used "dirty tricks" methods to disrupt and neutralize subversive organizations.

A 21-page draft report on counterintelligence programs, which went by the codename "Cointelpro," has been prepared for Saxbe by a study committee headed by Asst. Atty. Gen. Henry E. Petersen. The committee, made up of four representatives of the Justice Department's criminal Division and three FBI officials designated by Director Clarence M. Kelley, said in the draft that some of the "Cointelpro" operations "can only be considered abhorrent in a free society."

The organizations against which "Cointelpro" was directed from 1956 until it was terminated in 1971 were categorized in a Hoover directive as being: espionage groups; white hate groups, the Communist party U.S.A., Special operations, black extremists, the Socialist Workers' party and the New Left.

THE DRAFT REPORT SAID FBI documents furnished by Kelley showed that Hoover specifically authorized all seven programs under "Cointelpro." It added that there is "no indication in Bureau files" that these programs were either approved by or made known to any attorney general or any individual in the Department of Justice.

Five of the programs directed against domestic organizations led to 2,337 operations by FBI agents around the nation.

The activities of the FBI included:

- Furnishing civic and religious leaders and organizations with information that would gain their support in promoting pressure on state and local governments, employers and landlords to disrupt the suspected groups.
- Leaks to newspapers and reporters friendly to the FBI about the arrest records of individuals in the group under investigation.
- Sending of anonymous letters about suspected individuals to disrupt their campaigns for election to local office.

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b7C

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

— PAGE A-18

— RICHMOND TIMES - DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7C

Date: 11/17/74

Edition: MORNING

Author:

Editor:

Title: CRITICISM OF FBI;
COINTELPRO

Character:

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Classification: 100-10658-41
1-62-1354*

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☐ Being Investigated

100-10658-41

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SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 17 1974	
FBI - RICHMOND	

Original sent to Bureau by R/S 11-18-74 (e)

— An anonymous phone call to a defense attorney after a federal prosecution had resulted in a mistrial to advise him, evidently falsely, that one of the defendants had been an FBI informant.

— Anonymous communications to family members of suspected individuals advising them of "immoral or radical" activities of the individuals.

— Sending anonymous or fictitious materials to members or groups to create dissension and cause disruption among members of five different Ku Klux Klan groups.

Besides the specific categories of "Cointelpro" activity, the investigating committee found in FBI files approximately 20 miscellaneous FBI actions which it called "egregious examples." they included:

— Investigating the love life of a group leader for dissemination to the press. (A number of Washington reporters were informed by FBI agents of an alleged tape recording involving the extra-marital affairs of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The report to Saxbe does not identify the case reported by the Petersen committee.)

— Use of the citizens' band radio on the same frequency as radios being used by demonstrators to disrupt their demonstration. (This technique, it is known, was used by the FBI in Washington during the 1969 inaugural against about 500 New Left activists. It caused them to assemble at the wrong place and thus miss the opportunity to demonstrate at the inauguration parade.)

The Petersen committee was asked to determine whether there is any potential criminal or civil liability against the U.S.

government or individual FBI officials; the legality, necessity and wisdom of such programs and the need for appropriate standards and controls in event such programs are ever reactivated.

NR012 WA PLAIN

5:52PM IMMEDIATE 11-18-74 PAW

TO ALL SACS

FROM DIRECTOR

BUREAU-WIDE INFORMATION PROGRAM, 74-46

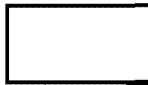
FBI COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

ON THIS DATE, ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM B. SAXBE HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE AT WHICH HE RELEASED A REPORT REGARDING FBI COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS. IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER, THERE FOLLOWS A STATEMENT RELEASED BY ME TODAY:

"ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM B. SAXBE TODAY HAS RELEASED A REPORT REGARDING FBI COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS. THE REPORT WAS PREPARED BY A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT COMMITTEE WHICH INCLUDED FBI REPRESENTATIVES THAT WAS SPECIALLY APPOINTED EARLY THIS YEAR TO STUDY AND REPORT ON THOSE PROGRAMS.

"SINCE TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE AS DIRECTOR ON JULY 9, 1973, I ALSO HAVE MADE A DETAILED STUDY OF THESE SAME FBI COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS.

"THE FIRST OF THEM--ONE DIRECTED AT THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA-- WAS INSTITUTED IN SEPTEMBER, 1956. NONE OF THE PROGRAMS WAS



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PAGE TWO

CONTINUED BEYOND APRIL, 1971.

"THE PURPOSE OF THESE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS WAS TO PREVENT DANGEROUS, AND EVEN POTENTIALLY DEADLY, ACTS AGAINST INDIVIDUALS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND INSTITUTIONS-- BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE-- ACROSS THE UNITED STATES.

"THEY WERE DESIGNED TO COUNTER THE CONSPIRATORIAL EFFORTS OF REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY, AS WELL AS TO NEUTRALIZE EXTREMISTS OF BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT WHO WERE THREATENING, AND IN MANY INSTANCES FOMENTING, ACTS OF VIOLENCE.

"THE STUDY WHICH I HAVE MADE CONVINCES ME THAT THE FBI EMPLOYEES INVOLVED IN THESE PROGRAMS ACTED ENTIRELY IN GOOD FAITH AND WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF WHAT WAS EXPECTED OF THEM BY THE PRESIDENT, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, THE CONGRESS, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"EACH OF THESE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS BORE THE APPROVAL OF THEN-DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER.

"PROPOSALS FOR COURSES OF ACTION TO BE TAKEN UNDER THESE PROGRAMS WERE SUBJECT TO APPROVAL IN ADVANCE, AS WELL AS TO CONSTANT REVIEW, BY FBI FIELD OFFICE AND HEADQUARTERS OFFICIALS.

"THROUGHOUT THE TENURE OF THESE PROGRAMS, EFFORTS ADMITTEDLY WERE MADE TO DISRUPT THE ANARCHISTIC PLANS AND

PAGE THREE

ACTIVITIES OF VIOLENCE-PRONE GROUPS WHOSE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED GOAL WAS TO BRING AMERICA TO ITS KNEES. FOR THE FBI TO HAVE DONE LESS UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD HAVE BEEN AN ABDICATION OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"LET ME REMIND THOSE WHO WOULD NOW CRITICIZE THE FBI'S ACTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL WAS BOMBED; THAT OTHER EXPLOSIONS ROCKED PUBLIC AND PRIVATE OFFICES AND BUILDINGS; THAT RIOTERS LED BY REVOLUTIONARY EXTREMISTS LAID SIEGE TO MILITARY, INDUSTRIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES; AND THAT KILLINGS, MAIMINGS, AND OTHER ATROCITIES ACCOMPANIED SUCH ACTS OF VIOLENCE FROM NEW ENGLAND TO CALIFORNIA.

"THE VICTIMS OF THESE ACTS OF VIOLENCE WERE HUMAN BEINGS-- MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN WHO LOOKED TO THE FBI AND OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES TO PROTECT THEIR LIVES, RIGHTS, AND PROPERTY. AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE FBI'S RESPONSE WAS TO DEVISE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS TO MINIMIZE THE THREATS AND THE FEARS CONFRONTING THESE CITIZENS.

"IN CARRYING OUT ITS COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS, THE FBI RECEIVED THE PERSONAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF MYRIAD CITIZENS BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE GOVERNMENT. MANY AMERICANS FEARED FOR THEIR OWN SAFETY

PAGE FOUR

AND FOR THE SAFETY OF THEIR GOVERNMENT. OTHERS WERE REVOLTED BY THE RHETORIC OF VIOLENCE AND THE ACTS OF VIOLENCE THAT WERE BEING PREACHED AND PRACTICED ACROSS OUR COUNTRY BY HARD-CORE EXTREMISTS.

"I INVITE YOUR ATTENTION TO THE GRAVITY OF THE PROBLEM AS IT THEN EXISTED, AS WELL AS THE NEED FOR DECISIVE AND EFFECTIVE COUNTERACTION BY THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITIES.

"I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT DIRECTOR HOOVER DID NOT CONCEAL FROM SUPERIOR AUTHORITIES THE FACT THAT THE FBI WAS ENGAGING IN NEUTRALIZING AND DISRUPTIVE TACTICS AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY AND VIOLENCE-PRONE GROUPS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN A COMMUNICATION CONCERNING A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION THAT HE SENT TO THE THEN-ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE WHITE HOUSE ON MAY 8, 1958, MR. HOOVER FURNISHED DETAILS OF TECHNIQUES UTILIZED BY THE FBI TO PROMOTE DISRUPTION OF THAT ORGANIZATION.

"A SECOND COMMUNICATION CALLING ATTENTION TO MEASURES BEING EMPLOYED AS AN ADJUNCT TO THE FBI'S REGULAR INVESTIGATIVE OPERATIONS CONCERNING THIS SAME REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION WAS SENT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL-DESIGNATE AND THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL- DESIGNATE BY MR. HOOVER ON JANUARY 10, 1961.

"MR. HOOVER ALSO SENT COMMUNICATIONS TO THE THEN-ATTORNEYS

PAGE FIVE

GENERAL IN 1965, 1967, AND 1969 FURNISHING THEM INFORMATION REGARDING DISRUPTIVE ACTIONS THE FBI WAS EMPLOYING TO NEUTRALIZE ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN RIGHTIST HATE GROUPS.

"I HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED MY FEELING THAT THE FBI'S COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS HAD AN IMPACT ON THE CRISES OF THE TIME AND, THEREFORE, THAT THEY HELPED TO BRING ABOUT A FAVORABLE CHANGE IN THIS COUNTRY.

"AS I SAID IN DECEMBER, 1973:

"NOW, IN THE CONTEXT OF A DIFFERENT ERA WHERE PEACE HAS RETURNED TO THE COLLEGE CAMPUSES AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCES NO LONGER POSE A MAJOR THREAT TO PEACE AND TRANQUILITY OF OUR CITIES, SOME MAY DEPLORE AND CONDEMN THE FBI'S USE OF A COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM--EVEN AGAINST HOSTILE AND ARROGANT FORCES WHICH OPENLY SOUGHT TO DESTROY THIS NATION.

"I SHARE THE PUBLIC'S DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE CITIZENS'S RIGHT TO PRIVACY AND THE PRESERVATION OF ALL RIGHTS GUARANTEED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS."

"MY POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED."

ALL LEGATS ADVISED SEPARATELY.

END

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Saxbe Says Repeat Of 'Tricks' Possible

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe said Sunday there is no way to ensure that the FBI will never again use "dirty tricks" such as planted news stories and anonymous letters to disrupt radical groups.

The Justice Department will issue a report today detailing orders by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that the department calls "isolated instances of practices which can only be considered abhorrent in a free society."

They include planting adverse news stories about a group or its leaders with newspapers considered friendly to FBI activities. The FBI also informed employers, credit bureaus and creditors of "immoral or radical" activities of leaders of targeted groups, and mailed anonymous letters to political opponents of the organizations detailing personal information the FBI dug up.

Such activities were undertaken without any allegations of criminal activities.

Saxbe refused to discuss details of the report, but said "Oh yes, sure," when asked if such a program of disruption could occur again.

"I certainly think the price you have to pay for this is eternal vigilance," Saxbe said. "To say these things could never happen again just is not so. You could have Watergate happen again. You could have all these things happen again if the people, the Congress and everybody concerned aren't interested."

But the former Ohio senator added that the only current FBI surveillance involves specific crimes and not acts intended to disrupt political organizations.

He was interviewed on NBC's "Meet the Press."

Saxbe said he could not be sure whether other attorneys general knew of the Hoover orders, which had been applied to different groups for more than 15 years, but said there was evidence some of them should have known.

Other Issues

On other issues Saxbe said:

— He welcomes cooperation from ghetto residents seeking to improve law enforcement in their neighborhoods, but said most of the work would have to be done with local agencies.

— It is up to President Ford to decide whether a new attorney

general should be appointed, but Saxbe will not quit.

— There is "minimum" surveillance of radical Arab and Jewish organizations. But he said "we do try to keep some control and knowledge of criminal activity" by terrorists.

— He said he could not reveal how many wiretaps the Justice Department is using, and refused to comment when asked if the number were more than 109, the last public figure.

— Enforcement of federal marijuana laws is "selective" because courts are already overcrowded. But Saxbe repeated his opposition to decriminalizing marijuana laws.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

— PAGE 8

— RICHMOND TIMES - DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7c

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Edition: MORNING

Author:

Editor:

Title: CRITICISM OF FBI;
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Character:

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Classification: 1- 62-1354*
1- 100-10658*
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☐ Being Investigated

100-10658-43

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FBI - RICHMOND	

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI's 'Dirty Tricks'

In assessing the FBI's 15-year use of "dirty tricks" against allegedly subversive organizations, the question is: Did the end justify the means? In retrospect, most Americans probably would say no.

Cointelpro was the code name for the counter-intelligence program aimed at espionage groups, white hate groups, the Communist party, black extremists, the Socialist Workers' party and the New Left.

According to a Justice Department report released over the weekend, *Cointelpro* activities included:

- Sending of anonymous letters about suspected individuals in an effort to thwart their campaigns for election to local offices.
- Sending of anonymous communications to family members of



Perts

Saxbe

suspected individuals advising them of allegedly immoral or radical activities of the individuals.

- Making an anonymous phone call to a defense attorney to advise him, apparently falsely, that a defendant had been an FBI informant.

— Investigating the allegedly extramarital activities of a prominent group leader. (The leader is not identified in the report, but during the *Cointelpro* period, which ran from 1956 until 1971, a number of Washington reporters were informed by FBI agents of alleged affairs of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.)

The seven-man Justice Department special committee that wrote the report on *Cointelpro* said that some of the operations in that program "can only be considered abhorrent in a free society." And Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe said he can foresee no circumstances that would persuade him to authorize the FBI to conduct such operations against domestic organizations in the future.

One of the dangerous aspects of *Cointelpro* was that the targets reportedly were selected by one man, the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, without any authorization from his superiors in the Justice Department. Mr. Hoover made many notable contributions to this country in his role as FBI chief, but his long tenure in that position was not without errors, and *Cointelpro*, or at least some aspects of it, was a mistake. It was not a mistake in its basic

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7c

Date: 11-19-74
Edition: Morning
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Cointelpro

Character: 1-62-1354
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aim, but, rather, in some of the "dirty trick" methods used.

The government, which is the people, has an obligation to act in accordance with standards that do not descend to the levels of those which may guide target groups. Adherence to such standards would not be an obligation if the nation faced imminent destruction from some powerful enemy, but certainly the Ku Klux Klan, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and various New Left groups did not pose a threat of that magnitude during the period in which "dirty tricks" were being used against such organizations.

On the same day the report on *Cointelpro* was released, the Maine Civil Service Commission fired a patrolman who had been trying to organize a police "death squad" to eliminate undesirable persons from society. Although there was a great difference in degree, the intent of the patrolman in question and of the FBI's *Cointelpro* were basically the same—to protect society from persons who would do great harm. In neither case was the intended purpose sufficient to justify the means actually used or proposed to be used.

There can be times when drastic counter-intelligence operations against domestic organizations may be called for, so careful consideration should be given the proposal of the FBI's current director, Clarence M. Kelley, that Congress enact legislation authorizing such activities in the event of a national emergency.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Knowledge of FBI Attacks Was Disseminated

From Wire Dispatches

WASHINGTON — High administration officials disclosed Monday that some knowledge of the FBI's controversial efforts to disrupt and "neutralize" domestic political groups had been made available to members of Congress, senior Justice Department officials and, possibly, some presidents.

Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe, who made public a report on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's highly secret counterintelligence operations, known collectively

as "Cointelpro," told reporters that the Justice Department had believed until recently that the program's existence was unknown outside the bureau.

"We have since found memoranda to indicate that there were some fragmented information available to some attorneys general and perhaps to the president" about the bureau's undercover efforts, Saxbe said, adding that similar data had been provided to members of the FBI's congressional oversight committees.

Saxbe was accompanied by Clarence M. Kelley, the FBI

director, who said in a statement that J. Edgar Hoover, his late predecessor, had informed every attorney general since 1953 of some of the techniques used by FBI agents against groups selected as targets of Cointelpro activities.

Kelley defended the program, which the Saxbe report said was made up of seven distinct efforts, as an appropriate response to "the anarchistic plans and activities of violence-prone groups whose publicly announced goal was to bring America to its knees."

"For the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people," he said.

He suggested a need for legislation to authorize similar activities in emergencies.

Justice Department officials disclosed after the news conference that the targets of the disruptive activities, some of which Saxbe termed disturbing and "improper," included such civil rights organizations as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded by the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

First in 1955

According to the 21-page report released by Saxbe Monday, the first Cointelpro efforts undertaken at Hoover's order were directed against suspected members of the

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 11

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7C

Date: 11/19/74

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Author:

Editor:

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Character:

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Special

11-19-74

Communist party in this country, beginning in 1956.

The program was later expanded to include the Socialist Workers party, so-called "white hate groups" such as the Ku Klux Klan, "black extremist" organizations, including the Black Panther party, and "new left" groups such as Students for a Democratic Society.

Saxbe gave assurances that Cointelpro was ordered discontinued by Hoover following the 1971 burglary of the FBI's field office at Media, Pa., in which several sensitive bureau documents regarding the surveillance of political groups were taken and subsequently made public.

Doesn't Approve

"In my mind," Saxbe said, "it is not something that we in a free society should condone." But he added that the Justice Department and the FBI should and would continue to employ such disruptive techniques against foreign intelligence and

espionage agents.

Saxbe said that "we certainly are not closing the door" to bringing criminal charges against FBI officials who carried out the counterintelligence operations.

But he said Asst. Atty. Gen. Henry E. Petersen, head of the Justice Department's criminal division, "does not believe there were prosecutable offenses committed "in the FBI campaign."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Saxbe Refuses 'Dirty Tricks' Request

WASHINGTON (AP)—Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe has refused to go along with an FBI request for legislation authorizing emergency "dirty tricks" against domestic political

organizations.

The split between Saxbe and FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley surfaced at a news conference yesterday as the attorney general denounced the disruptive tactics employed in FBI counterintelligence operations for 15 years ending in 1971.

Saxbe said he has taken steps to prevent a repetition of such tactics. But he indicated that he leans against any legislation forbidding them outright.

"I don't think that you can pass laws that would completely foreclose any such activities," he said.

Instead, Saxbe urged Congress to create a joint House-Senate committee to monitor the daily operations of the FBI. "I think this is one of the greatest safeguards that we could have in this country," he asserted.

Emphasizing a different objective, Kelley asked for legislation to permit the FBI "under emergency situations, to do some things which counteract the effectiveness" of militant groups at the extremes of the political spectrum.

Kelley has been pushing the proposal for almost a year but the Justice Department has refused to adopt it.

Deputy Atty. Gen. Laurence Silberman said "we have no

plans to submit any legislation to cover this" and that Kelley has been told the department will not advocate such measures.

Saxbe and Kelley also differed in their appraisal of the tactics launched by the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover against the Communist Party U.S.A., the Socialist Workers party, "black extremist" groups, "white hate" groups and the New Left.

Saxbe said he considers it improper for the FBI to engage in "positive disruptive activities" against domestic organizations in any circumstances.

The counterintelligence program "in my mind, is not something that we in a free society should condone," he continued. "I'm not here to try to justify the activities that went on under this."

But Kelley gave a resounding defense of the operation. He said he is convinced that FBI employees "acted entirely in good faith and within the bounds of what was expected of them by the President, the attorney general, the Congress and the American people."

He cited the activities of militants in the 1960s and acknowledged that the FBI attempted to disrupt "violence-prone groups."

But he argued that "for the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people."

On the other hand, Saxbe and Assistant Atty. Gen. Henry E. Petersen said FBI officials

may have violated the law with some of the disruptive tactics.

"This is a question that has caused us considerable concern," Saxbe said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 5

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
RICHMOND, VA.

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Original sent to Bureau by R/S

Kelley Defends FBI Action

By Orr Kelly
Star-News Staff Writer

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley today strongly defended the bureau's 15-year campaign of "dirty tricks" directed against suspected subversives.

Kelley's defense of the so-called Cointelpro (for counterintelligence program) operations was contained in a statement handed to reporters by FBI agents.

The statement was distributed at the end of a press conference where Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe released a report on the FBI's activities.

THE REPORT disclosed that federal officials outside the FBI had been informed of at least part of the Cointelpro program.

The Justice Department report — the contents of which were first disclosed in news stories Saturday — described some of the FBI activities as "abhorrent."

Although Kelley was present at the press conference, he answered only a few questions. He did say he thought disruptive tactics might be needed again in "emergency" situations, but that he would not authorize them without approval from the attorney general.

"The purpose of the counterintelligence programs was to prevent dangerous, and even potentially deadly, acts against individuals, organizations and institutions — both public and private — across the United States," Kelley's written statement said.

"THEY WERE designed to counter the conspiratorial efforts of revolutionary elements in this country, as well as to neutralize

extremists of both the left and the right who were threatening, in many instances fomenting, acts of violence.

"The study which I have made convinces me that the FBI employees involved in these programs acted entirely in good faith and within the bounds of what was expected of them by the President, the attorney general, the Congress and the American people. . . .

"Throughout the tenure of these programs, efforts admittedly were made to disrupt the anarchistic plans and activities of violence-prone groups whose publicly announced goal was to bring America to its knees. For the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people," Kelley's statement said.

Although the draft of the report obtained by the Star-News last week declared that no one outside the FBI was aware of the Cointelpro operations, the version released today had been revised to reflect recently uncovered memos indicating that some persons in the executive branch and in Congress had been informed of at least part of the operations.

KELLEY'S statement was more explicit in indicating that officials approved of the program.

"In carrying out its counterintelligence programs, the FBI received the personal encouragement of myriad citizens both within and without the government," Kelley declared.

The document released by Saxbe was described by him as a report that he had received from Asst. Atty. Gen. Henry E. Petersen — edited to remove classified national security information.

It said that FBI efforts to disrupt the Communist party USA and white hate groups were reported to at least three attorneys general and to key aides of two presidents between 1958 and 1969.

"It must be emphasized that none of the activities so reported involved any improper conduct," the report said.

"ONE additional attorney general during this period was briefed on the bureau's 'counterattack' against the Communist party USA. Finally, bureau documents disclosed that a House Appropriations subcommittee (headed by Rep. John J. Rooney, D-N.Y.) was briefed on the bureau's counterintelligence program, including Cointelpro and examples of specific activities undertaken in connection with this program, as early as 1958," the report said.

Saxbe said that then-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's reports to the subcommittee were off the record, there is no public record of what he told the panel.

Kelley, in his statement, said Hoover sent a message to the "then-attorney general and the White House on May 8, 1958" furnishing "details of techniques utilized by the FBI to promote disruption" of a revolutionary organization.

At that time, William Rogers, later secretary of state, was attorney general.

"A SECOND communication calling attention to measures being employed as an adjunct to the FBI's regular investigative operations concerning this same revolutionary organization was sent to the attorney general-designate and the deputy attorney general-designate by Mr. Hoover on Jan. 10, 1961," Kelley's statement said.

"Mr. Hoover also sent communications to the then-attorneys general in 1965, 1967 and 1969 furnishing them information regarding disruptive actions the FBI was employing to neutralize activities of certain rightist hate groups," Kelley said.

Saxbe said Petersen had concluded that FBI officials had not committed offenses that could be prosecuted in the Cointelpro operation.

"Washington Star-News"
Washington, D. C.
November 18, 1974

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COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

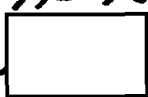
I. Introduction

The FBI's counterintelligence program was developed in response to needs at the time to quickly neutralize organizations and individuals who were advocating and fomenting urban violence and campus disorder. The riots which swept America's urban centers, beginning in 1965, were quickly followed by violent disorders which paralyzed college campuses. Both situations led to calls for action by alarmed Government leaders and a frightened citizenry.

II. Tenor of the Times

An Associated Press survey noted that, during the first nine months of 1967, racial violence in 67 cities resulted in 85 deaths, injuries to 3,200 people and property damage of over \$100,000,000. The February, 1970, issue of "Security World" stated that during the period January 1 to August 31, 1969, losses specifically traced to campus disorders amounted to \$8,946,972.

In March, 1965, then Senator Robert F. Kennedy predicted more violence in the South and North after Congress passed voting rights legislation. Kennedy said, "I don't care what legislation is passed--we are going to have problems... violence."

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A United Press International release on December 5, 1967, quoted Pennsylvania's Governor Raymond P. Shafer as warning that "urban disaster" in the form of "total urban warfare" is waiting in the wings to strike if the race problem is not solved in the Nation's cities.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark reported to President Johnson on January 12, 1968, according to the "Washington Star," that extremist activity to foment "rebellion in urban ghettos" has put a severe strain on the FBI and other Justice Department resources. Clark called this "the most difficult intelligence problem" in the Justice Department.

A United Press International release on February 13, 1968, stated that President Johnson expected further turmoil in the cities and "several bad summers" before the Nation's urban problems are solved.

III. Calls to Action

President Lyndon Johnson said in a television address to the Nation on July 24, 1967, in describing events that led to sending troops to Detroit during that city's riot, "We will not tolerate lawlessness. We will not endure violence. It matters not by whom it is done, or under what slogan or banner. It will not be tolerated." He called upon "all of our people in all of our cities" to "show by word and by deed that rioting, looting and public disorder will just not be tolerated."

In a second address to the Nation in just three days, President Johnson announced the appointment of a special Advisory Commission on

Civil Disorder to investigate origins of urban riots. The President said that this country had "endured a week such that no Nation should live through; a time of violence and tragedy." He declared that "the looting and arson and plunder and pillage which have occurred are not part of a civil rights protest." "It is no American right," said the President, to loot or burn or "fire rifles from the rooftops." Those in public responsibility have "an immediate" obligation "to end disorder," the President told the American people, by using "every means at our command. . . ."

The President warned public officials that "if your response to these tragic events is only business-as-usual, you invite not only disaster but dishonor." President Johnson declared that "violence must be stopped--quickly, finally and permanently" and he pledged "we will stop it."

House Speaker John W. McCormick said on July 24, 1967, after conferring with President Johnson that the President had told party leaders that "public order is the first business of Government." The next day, Senator Robert C. Byrd advocated "brutal force" to contain urban rioting and said adult looters should be "shot on the spot."

On April 12, 1968, Representative Clarence D. Long of Maryland urged J. Edgar Hoover in a letter and in a public statement to infiltrate extremist groups to head off future riots and said FBI Agents "could take people like Negro militants Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown out of circulation."

The "St. Louis Globe--Democrat" in a February 14, 1969, editorial entitled, "Throw the Book at Campus Rioters," described campus disorders then sweeping the Nation as "a threat to the entire university educational system." This newspaper called on the Attorney General to "move now to stop these anti-American anarchists and communist stooges in their tracks. He should hit them with every weapon at his command. The American people are fed up with such bearded, anarchist creeps and would applaud a strong drive against them. They have been coddled and given license to run roughshod over the rights of the majority of college students far too long. It is time to hit them hard with everything in the book."

On October 2, 1969, Senator Byrd said that "events in the news in the past few days concerning activities by militant radical groups should alert us to the new trouble that is brewing on the Nation's college campuses and elsewhere." Senator Byrd said that "all of us would do well to pay heed now, and law enforcement authorities should plan a course of action before the situation gets completely out of hand."

After the August 24, 1970, bombing at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, a group of faculty members called for disciplinary action against students involved in disruption and violence. In a statement delivered to the Chancellor, 867 faculty members said "the rising tide of intimidation and violence on the campuses in the last few years has made

normal educational and scholarly activities increasingly difficult. There has been a steady escalation of destructiveness that has culminated in an act of homicide. Academic freedom, meaning freedom of expression for all ideas and viewpoints, has been steadily eroded until now many are questioning whether it exists on the Madison campus." The faculty members said that "the acts of a few must not be allowed to endanger the rights and privileges of all members of the academic community."

"The New York Times" reported on October 11, 1970, on "The Urban Guerrillas--A New Phenomenon in the United States" and noted that the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security recently heard four days of testimony on four bills aimed at "crushing the urban guerrillas," including one "that would make it a crime to belong to or aid organizations advocating terrorism, and would prohibit the publication of periodicals that advocate violence against police and the overthrow of the Government."

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest in detailing "the law enforcement response" noted that "it is an undoubted fact that on some campuses there are men and women who plot, all too often successfully, to burn and bomb, and sometimes to maim and kill. The police must attempt to determine whether or not such a plot is in progress, and, if it is, they must attempt to thwart it."

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Finally, [] a faculty member at the University of Maryland, writing in "Christian Economics," February 11, 1970, on "The New Left and the Politics of Confrontation" noted that "in many

instances, those extremists who have fomented disorder have been in violation of state and Federal statutes." But, [] noted, "what is often missing is the will to prosecute and to bring such individuals before the bar of justice." [] article was subcaptioned "A Society Which Will Not Defend Itself Against Anarchists Cannot Long Survive."

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IV. Appropriations Testimony

On February 10, 1966, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover testified regarding the Ku Klux Klan, saying that "the Bureau continues its program of penetrating the Klan at all levels and, I may say, has been quite successful in doing so. The Bureau's role in penetrating the Klan has received public attention due to the solution of the brutal murders of Viola Luizzo in Alabama, Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel A. Penn in Georgia and the three civil rights workers in Mississippi. We have achieved a number of other tangible accomplishments in this field, most of which are not publicly known but are most significant." Discussion off the record followed.

V. Public Support of the Counterintelligence Program

Following acknowledgement that the FBI had a counterintelligence program, syndicated columnist Victor Riesel wrote on June 15, 1973, "no apologies are due from those in the highest authority for secretly

developing a domestic counterrevolutionary intelligence stratagem in early 1970." Mr. Riesel detailed the record of "dead students," "university libraries in flames," and "insensate murdering of cops," and concluded "it would have been wrong not to have attempted to counter the sheer off-the-wall terrorism of the 1969-70 bomb seasons. And it would be wrong today. No one need apologize for counterrevolutionary action."

"Our reaction is that we are exceedingly glad he ordered it," wrote the "St. Louis Globe--Democrat" in a December 11, 1973, editorial on the counterintelligence program. This newspaper noted that "the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the late J. Edgar Hoover conducted a three-year campaign of counterintelligence 'to expose, disrupt, and neutralize' the New Left movement..." and that "many of these New Left groups were doing everything they could to undermine the Government and some of them resorted to bombings, street riots, and other gangster tactics. Others waged war on police across the Nation and on our system of justice. Still others disrupted the Nation's campuses. The Nation can be thankful it had a courageous and strong leader of the FBI to deal with the serious threats posed by New Left groups during this period."

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On June 18, 1974, [REDACTED] "The Reader's Digest," testified before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs regarding terrorism and noted, "...the FBI's counterintelligence

program against the extremist core of the New Left was a model of sophisticated, effective counter-terrorist law enforcement action first developed and applied with devastating effect against the Ku Klux Klan in the mid-1960's. In that context the strategy won great publicity and praise; yet now we have the Attorney General condemning it. In the current climate of justifiable revulsion over Watergate, we are in danger of crippling law enforcement intelligence in a hysteria of reverse-McCarthyism in which we close our eyes to evidence and some compelling necessities of domestic and international security."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

STATEMENT OF
CLARENCE M. KELLEY
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOVEMBER 18, 1974

Attorney General William B. Saxbe today has released a report regarding FBI counterintelligence programs. The report was prepared by a Justice Department committee which included FBI representatives that was specially appointed early this year to study and report on those programs.

Since taking the oath of office as Director on July 9, 1973, I also have made a detailed study of these same FBI counterintelligence programs.

The first of them--one directed at the Communist Party, USA--was instituted in September, 1956. None of the programs was continued beyond April, 1971.

The purpose of these counterintelligence programs was to prevent dangerous, and even potentially deadly, acts against individuals, organizations, and institutions--both public and private--across the United States.

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They were designed to counter the conspiratorial efforts of revolutionary elements in this country, as well as to neutralize extremists of both the Left and the Right who were threatening, and in many instances fomenting, acts of violence.

The study which I have made convinces me that the FBI employees involved in these programs acted entirely in good faith and within the bounds of what was expected of them by the President, the Attorney General, the Congress, and the American people.

Each of these counterintelligence programs bore the approval of the then-Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Proposals for courses of action to be taken under these programs were subject to approval in advance, as well as to constant review, by FBI Field Office and Headquarters officials.

Throughout the tenure of these programs, efforts admittedly were made to disrupt the anarchistic plans and activities of violence-prone groups whose publicly announced goal was to bring America to its knees. For the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people.

Let me remind those who would now criticize the FBI's actions that the United States Capitol was bombed; that other explosions rocked public and private offices and buildings; that rioters led by revolutionary extremists laid siege to military, industrial, and educational facilities; and that killings, maimings, and other atrocities accompanied such acts of violence from New England to California.

The victims of these acts of violence were human beings--men, women, and children who looked to the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to protect their lives, rights, and property. An important part of the FBI's response was to devise counterintelligence programs to minimize the threats and the fears confronting these citizens.

In carrying out its counterintelligence programs, the FBI received the personal encouragement of myriad citizens both within and without the Government. Many Americans feared for their own safety and for the safety of their Government. Others were revolted by the rhetoric of violence and the acts of violence that were being preached and practiced across our country by hard-core extremists.

I invite your attention to the gravity of the problem as it then existed, as well as the need for decisive and effective counteraction by the criminal justice and intelligence communities.

I want to assure you that Director Hoover did not conceal from superior authorities the fact that the FBI was engaging in neutralizing and disruptive tactics against revolutionary and violence-prone groups. For example, in a communication concerning a revolutionary organization that he sent to the then-Attorney General and the White House on May 8, 1958, Mr. Hoover furnished details of techniques utilized by the FBI to promote disruption of that organization.

A second communication calling attention to measures being employed as an adjunct to the FBI's regular investigative operations concerning this same revolutionary organization was sent to the Attorney General-designate and the Deputy Attorney General-designate by Mr. Hoover on January 10, 1961.

Mr. Hoover also sent communications to the then-Attorneys General in 1965, 1967, and 1969 furnishing them information regarding disruptive actions the FBI was employing to neutralize activities of certain Rightist hate groups.

I have previously expressed my feeling that the FBI's counterintelligence programs had an impact on the crises of the time and, therefore, that they helped to bring about a favorable change in this country.

As I said in December, 1973:

"Now, in the context of a different era where peace has returned to the college campuses and revolutionary forces no longer pose a major threat to peace and tranquility of our cities, some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counterintelligence program--even against hostile and arrogant forces which openly sought to destroy this nation.

"I share the public's deep concern about the citizen's right to privacy and the preservation of all rights guaranteed under the Constitution and Bill of Rights."

My position remains unchanged.



Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1974

AG

Attorney General William B. Saxbe and Federal Bureau of Investigation Director Clarence M. Kelley released today the details of certain counterintelligence programs conducted by the FBI from 1956 to 1971 against several domestic and foreign-based subversive or disruptive groups, organizations, and individuals.

These efforts, which carried the designation "COINTEL-PRO," were targeted against the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party, the New Left, White Hate groups, and Black Extremist organizations, as well as certain espionage operations and hostile foreign-based intelligence services.

The materials released today significantly expand upon material released in December, 1973, by Director Kelley concerning the counterintelligence program conducted against radical and violent elements as part of the COINTELPRO -- New Left.

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November 18, 1974

FBI COINTELPRO ACTIVITIES

I. INTRODUCTION

In Fall, 1973 the Department of Justice disclosed certain documents relating to a "counterintelligence" program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation entitled "COINTELPRO - New Left." Among the documents disclosed was a directive indicating that the FBI had also instituted six other counterintelligence programs ("COINTELPRO"), to wit: Espionage; White Hate Groups; Communist Party, USA; Special Operations; Black Extremists and the Socialist Workers Party. Based on these disclosures, additional requests have been made for numerous other documents relating to these FBI COINTELPRO activities. This paper is in response to those requests.

In January, 1974 Attorney General William Saxbe requested Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen to form a committee to review these FBI COINTELPRO activities. The Committee was chaired by Assistant Attorney General Petersen, and consisted of four Criminal Division representatives and three FBI representatives selected by FBI Director Clarence Kelley.

In June, 1974 the various COINTELPRO programs were discussed at length by Attorney General Saxbe and FBI Director Kelley with the FBI Oversight Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. More recently, the COINTELPRO activities of the FBI were discussed by Attorney General Saxbe and Director Kelley with Chairman Rodino and Ranking Minority Member Hutchinson of the House Judiciary Committee.

II. THE COINTELPRO PROGRAMS

A. Origin, Scope and Objectives of COINTELPRO Activities

The term "COINTELPRO" is a generic term used by the FBI to describe seven separate "counterintelligence" programs which the Bureau implemented at different times during the period from 1956 to 1971, when all were discontinued. Five of these programs were directed at domestic-based groups and individuals -- Communist Party, USA, the forerunner of all other COINTELPROS (1956-1971); Socialist Workers Party (1961-1970); White Hate Groups (1964-1971); Black Extremists (1967-1971); and New Left (1968-1971). The documents authorizing these five programs define their objective as being either simply the disruption of the

group's activities; or the disruption, exposure and neutralization thereof.

The other two COINTELPRO programs were in the area of foreign counterintelligence -- Espionage or Soviet-Satellite Intelligence, which was in effect from 1964 to 1971; and Special Operations, which was in effect from 1967 to 1971. According to Bureau documents, the overall objectives of these two programs were to encourage and stimulate a variety of counterintelligence efforts against hostile foreign intelligence sources, foreign Communist organizations and individuals connected with them.

B. The Background and Context of COINTELPRO Activities

A fair, accurate and comprehensive understanding of the various COINTELPRO activities undertaken by the FBI is possible only in light of the context and climate in which the programs were established.

As indicated above, COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA was the predecessor -- and in some respects the model -- of subsequent FBI COINTELPRO activities. The Communist Party, USA program grew out of the "Red Scare" of the early and middle 1950's. This era of American political history was characterized by the growth and decline of "McCarthyism;" numerous and well-publicized "spy trials;" and, in general,

a prevailing view in Congress and the American people that the Federal Government should take appropriate steps against domestic subversion. The period was also characterized by a widespread concern that subversive elements, spearheaded by the Communist Party, were not only pervasive, but were also in varying degrees effective in such areas as sabotage and espionage. Moreover, although domestically based, it was clear that the operations and activities of the Communist Party USA were in fact directed by foreign countries. Indeed, the fact of foreign (Soviet) direction and control of the Communist Party USA was recognized by the Supreme Court in Communist Party USA v. United States, 368 U.S. 871.

The original COINTELPRO was, then, conceived as a "counter-intelligence" effort in the purest sense. Moreover, the overwhelming bulk of the activities carried out under the program were legitimate and proper intelligence and investigative practices and techniques. What was new in the COINTELPRO effort was primarily the targeting of these activities against one specified group or category of organizations. Although, as discussed in more detail below, some COINTELPRO activities involved isolated instances of practices that can only be considered abhorrent in a free society, it is important to understand that these improper activities were not the purpose or indeed even the major characteristic of the FBI's COINTELPRO efforts.

COINTELPRO -- Socialist Workers Party, undertaken in 1961, appears to have been a direct outgrowth of the earlier effort targeted against the activities of the Communist Party, USA. Later COINTELPRO activities were based on the Communist Party, USA model, but reflected the changing threats to domestic order that emerged in the decade of the 1960's.

The next COINTELPRO undertaken was against White Hate Groups. This program, which began in 1964, grew out of the disruptive and harrassing activities of these groups in their attempt to subvert the civil rights movement. The activities of these groups were characterized by lynchings, burnings, bombings, and the like -- a climate of violence and lawlessness which society and its law enforcement mechanisms seemed incapable of countering.

The next COINTELPRO undertaken was against Black Extremists in 1967. As in the case of the White Hate Groups, the activities of these extremist groups were marked by violence, arson and bombings. In addition, the activities of many of these extremist groups included police shootings and, as is well known, the fostering and fomenting of riots and other civil disturbances in cities all across the land.

Finally, many of these activities were led by or included individuals who publicly proclaimed their association with the political doctrines or leadership of hostile countries, including Communist nations.

The last domestic COINTELPRO was instituted in 1968 against the "New Left". The origin and purposes of this effort were best described by FBI Director Kelley in a press release on December 7, 1973:

"In the late 1960's, a hard-core revolutionary movement which came to be known as the "New Left" set out, in its own words, to bring the Government to its knees through the use of force and violence.

"What started as New Left movement chanting of Marxist-Leninist slogans in the early years of their 'revolution' developed into violent contempt, not only for Government and Government officials, but for every responsible American citizen.

"During these years, there were over 300 arsons or attempted arsons, 14 destructive bombings, 9 persons killed, and almost 600 injured on our college campuses alone. In the school year 1968-69, damage on college campuses exceeded 3 million dollars and in the next year mounted to an excess of 9.5 million.

"In this atmosphere of lawlessness in the cities mobs overturned vehicles, set fires, and damaged public and private property. There were threats to sabotage power plants, to disrupt transportation and communications facilities. Intelligence sources informed the FBI of plans that were discussed to poison public water supplies.

"At this time of national crisis, the Government would have been derelict in its duty had it not taken measures to protect the fabric of our society. The FBI has the responsibility of investigating allegations of criminal violations and gathering intelligence regarding threats to the country's security. Because of the violent actions of the leadership of the New Left, FBI officials concluded that some additional effort must be made to neutralize and disrupt this revolutionary movement. This effort was called the 'Counterintelligence Program - New Left' or 'COINTELPRO-New Left.'

"While there is no way to measure the effect of the FBI's attempt at counter-subversion, I believe that it did have some impact on the crisis at that time.

"Now, in the context of a different era where peace has returned to the college campuses and revolutionary forces no longer pose a major threat to peace and tranquility of our cities, some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counterintelligence program -- even against hostile and arrogant forces which openly sought to destroy this nation.

"I share the public's deep concern about the citizen's right to privacy and the preservation of all rights guaranteed under the Constitution and Bill of Rights."

As indicated in Director Kelley's statement -- and as is apparent in the case of all COINTELPRO activities -- "there is no way to measure the effect of the FBI's attempt at counter-subversion." Unfortunately, no empirical data exist with respect to the effectiveness of the various COINTELPRO efforts undertaken in countering the threats perceived to the domestic

order. Perhaps the nature of intelligence work is such that no such objective measure exists.

C. Authorization and Implementation of
COINTELPRO Activities

According to FBI documents, all seven programs implemented under COINTELPRO were specifically authorized by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. COINTELPRO programs were apparently not reported to any of the Attorneys General in office during the periods in which they were implemented. Only certain aspects of the Bureau's efforts to penetrate and disrupt the Communist Party USA and White Hate Groups -- apparently conducted under COINTELPRO although not specifically stated as such (the term "COINTELPRO" was used only inside the Bureau), were reported to at least three Attorneys General and key White House staff of two Presidents between 1958 and 1969. It must be emphasized that none of the activities so reported involved any improper conduct. One additional Attorney General during this period was briefed on the Bureau's "counterattack" against the Communist Party USA. Finally, Bureau documents disclosed that the House Appropriations Subcommittee was briefed on the Bureau's counterintelligence programs including the character of COINTELPRO and examples of specific activities undertaken in connection with this program, as early as 1958. Under the directives establishing the programs, no counterintelligence action could be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization. Except in a very small number of instances this policy was

strictly adhered to. The great majority of actions were either approved or disapproved at the Assistant Director level or above, while a very small number were acted on at a lower level.

D. Statistical Analysis of COINTELPRO Activities

As indicated above, the maximum time span of all seven COINTELPRO programs covered the period 1956 to 1971. All programs, however, were not in effect during this entire period.

With respect to the five programs directed at domestic-based organizations and individuals, a total of some 3,247 proposals for counterintelligence activity were submitted by the various FBI field offices for consideration from the inception of the programs in 1956 to their termination in 1971 -- more than half of them arising under the Communist Party USA program. Some 2,370 of these proposals, or approximately 73%, were approved and implemented. Of those proposals which were approved and implemented, known results were obtained in only some 527, or approximately 22%.

The individual statistics on each of these five programs are as follows:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Proposals</u>	<u>Approved & Implemented</u>	<u>Known Results</u>
Communist Party USA	1850	1388	222
Socialist Workers Party	72	46	13
White Hate Groups	404	289	139
New Left	381	285	77
Black Extremists	<u>540</u>	<u>362</u>	<u>76</u>
TOTALS	3247	2370	527

With respect to the two other "COINTELPRO" programs, Special Operations and Espionage or Soviet-Satellite Intelligence -- both of which related to operations primarily targeted against hostile foreign intelligence services, foreign organizations and individuals connected with them -- no statistics are set forth in this report. Because of the nature of these activities, all documents relating to "Espionage or Soviet-Satellite Intelligence" are classified Secret, and a very substantial part of the documents relating to "Special Operations" are likewise classified Secret. Publication of these statistics would be inappropriate in terms of the national security.

E. Analysis of Types of Activity Conducted Under COINTELPRO Domestic-Based Programs

Reports with respect to the five domestic based COINTELPRO programs disclosed a close similarity in the types

of activities conducted under each program. In general, the activities common to all programs may be grouped into approximately a dozen categories. As indicated above, the overwhelming bulk of these activities were clearly legitimate and proper undertakings, within the scope of the FBI's ongoing responsibilities, and are listed as "COINTELPRO" activities only because they were reported as such. They may be characterized as follows:

(1) Sending anonymous or fictitious materials to members or groups

The vast majority of these actions consisted of items of information designed to create dissention and cause disruption within the various groups. Of the total number of actions implemented under all five domestic based programs, approximately 40% fell under this category.

(2) Dissemination of public record information to media sources

Actions implemented under this category consisted primarily of making public source material available to friendly media representatives for the purpose of using such material in a newspaper, magazine, or radio or television program in order to expose the aims and activities of the various groups. This type of activity represented approximately 20% of all actions implemented under domestic COINTELPRO efforts.

It was implemented in some 360 instances in connection with the Communist Party USA program; in six instances in connection with the Socialist Workers Party; in 26 instances in connection with Black Extremists; in 15 instances in connection with White Hate Groups; and in 25 instances in connection with the New Left.

(3) Leaking informant based or non-public information to media sources

Most of the actions implemented in this category related to the leaking of investigative material to friendly media sources for the purpose of exposing the nature, aims and membership of the various groups. There were no instances of this type of activity in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program, and relatively few in connection with the Communist Party USA and New Left programs. Approximately one-seventh of the actions implemented under the Black Extremists program, and one-sixth of the actions implemented under the White Hate Groups program fell under this category.

(4) Advising local, State and Federal authorities of civil and criminal violations by group members

This activity -- totally legal -- represented approximately 8% of the total number of actions implemented under all five domestic based programs.

(5) Use of informants to disrupt a group's activities

Most of the actions implemented under this category were for the purpose of using informants to disrupt the activities of various groups by sowing dissention and exploiting disputes. No statistics are available as to the number of instances of this type of activity in connection with the Communist Party USA program, but it seems that informants were used in this program to cause disruption but not as agents provocateurs. This type of activity represented less than two percent of the activities undertaken in connection with the four other domestic based COINTELPRO programs.

(6) Informing employers, credit bureaus and creditors of members' activities

The majority of actions implemented under this category consisted of notifying credit bureaus, creditors, employers and prospective employers of members' illegal, immoral, radical and Communist Party activities in order to affect adversely their credit standing or employment status. No statistics are available as to the number of instances in which this type of activity was used in connection with the Communist Party USA program, although the Bureau has reported that it was used in a number of instances. It was used in only a small number of instances in connection with the four other domestic based COINTELPRO programs, namely in one instance in connection with the Socialist Workers Party, seven instances in

connection with Black Extremists, 15 instances in connection with White Hate Groups, and 20 instances in connection with the New Left, or a total of some 43 instances in all domestic based COINTELPRO programs other than the Communist Party USA.

(7) Informing or contacting businesses and persons with whom members had economic dealings of members' activities

The majority of actions implemented under this category consisted of notifying persons or businesses with whom members had economic dealings of the members' association with the various groups involved for the purpose of adversely affecting their economic interests. No instances of this type of activity were reported in connection with the Communist Party USA program. It was implemented in only one instance in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program, in 62 instances in connection with the Black Extremists, 14 instances in connection with the White Hate Groups, and eight instances in connection with the New Left, or a total of some 85 instances in all domestic based programs.

(8) Interviewing or contacting members

This type of activity -- again, totally legal -- was implemented in only a small number of instances for the purpose of letting members know that the FBI was aware of their activity and also in an attempt to develop them as informants. No instances of this type of activity were reported in

connection with the Communist Party USA, Socialists Workers Party and Black Extremists programs, and in only eleven instances in connection with White Hate Groups and in one instance in connection with the New Left. It should be noted that many FBI field offices carried on this activity routinely but did not attribute it to a counterintelligence function but rather to the routine investigation of individuals or organizations.

(9) Attempting to use religious and civil leaders and organizations in disruptive activities

The majority of actions implemented under this category involved furnishing information to civic and religious leaders and organizations in order to gain their support and to persuade them to exert pressure on state and local governments, employers and landlords to the detriment of the various groups. No instances of this type of activity were reported in connection with the Communist Party USA program. It was used in only 2 instances in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program, in 36 instances in connection with Black Extremists, in 13 instances in connection with White Hate Groups and in 10 instances in connection with the New Left, or a total of some 61 instances in connection with all domestic based programs.

(10) Activity related to political or judicial processes

This type of activity represents less than one half of one percent of all COINTELPRO activities -- a total of only 12 instances in connection with all five domestic based programs.

Although small in number, these 12 instances are among the most troubling in all of the COINTELPRO efforts. Consequently, in the interest of full disclosure, they are described in detail as follows: tipping off the press that a write-in candidate for Congress would be attending a group's meeting at a specific time and place; leaking information to the press that a group official was actively campaigning for a person running for public office; furnishing the arrest and conviction record of a member of a group who was candidate for a local public office to a friendly newspaper which published the information; sending an anonymous letter to a political candidate alerting him that a group's members were active in his campaign and asking that he not be a tool of the group; sending an anonymous letter to a local school board official, purporting to be from a concerned parent, alerting him that candidates for the school board were members of a group; mailing an anonymous letter to a member of a group who was a mayoralty candidate in order to create distrust toward his comrades; furnishing background of

a group who was a candidate for public office, including arrests and questionable marital status, to news media contacts; furnishing public source data on a group to a local grand jury chairman who had requested it in connection with the grand jury's probe of the shooting of police by group members; furnishing information concerning arrests of an individual to a court that had earlier given this individual a suspended sentence and also furnishing this same information to his employer who later discharged the individual; making an anonymous telephone call to a defense attorney, after a Federal prosecution had resulted in a mistrial, advising him (apparently falsely) that one of the defendants and another well known group individual were FBI informants.

(11) Establishing sham organizations for disruptive purposes

This type of activity was utilized only in connection with the White Hate Groups program and was implemented in only five instances primarily for the purpose of using the organizations to send out material intended to disrupt various such groups.

(12) Informing family or others of radical or immoral activity

The majority of actions implemented under this category involved the sending of anonymous communications to family members or groups to which individuals belonged ad-

vising them of immoral or radical activities on the part of various individuals. These activities represent a little more than one percent of all COINTELPRO activities -- a total of some thirty instances in all domestic-based programs. This type of activity was reported to have been used infrequently in connection with the Communist Party USA program, and was not used in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program. It was reported to have been used in twelve instances in connection with the Black Extremists program, in two instances in connection with White Hate Groups, and in 16 instances in connection with the New Left.

In addition to the above twelve categories, it was found that a small number of miscellaneous actions, approximately 20 instances in all the domestic-based programs, were implemented which did not fit in any specific category. Again, it is appropriate in the interests of full disclosure that these activities be set forth in detail. The most egregious examples of these miscellaneous types of activity are as follows: making arrangements for local authorities to stop two group members on a narcotics pretext and by prearrangement having a police radio operator indicate that another individual wanted them to call her with purpose of having this individual come under suspicion as a police informer; use of "citizen band" radio, using the same frequency being used by demonstrators, to provide disinformation; making telephone calls to parents of members of a group

advising them of the connection of their son with the group; or advising the mother of a group leader that his actions would put him in danger; forging of a group's business card for informant purposes; reproducing a group leader's signature stamp; obtaining tax returns of members of a group; reproducing a group's recruiting card; and investigating the love life of a group leader for dissemination to the press.

F. Foreign Intelligence Activities

Two programs in the area of foreign counterintelligence - "Special Operations" and "Espionage" or "Soviet-Satellite Intelligence" - were implemented by the FBI under "COINTEL-PRO." The overall objective of each was to encourage and stimulate a variety of counterintelligence efforts against hostile foreign intelligence services, and, in the case of "Special Operations," also against foreign Communist organizations and individuals connected with them.

(1) Special Operations

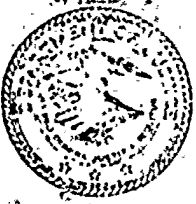
The title "Special Operations" does not designate a program directed against a specific target. Rather, the title and the file on it are of a control character, and the file contains copies of correspondence of an informative or coordinating nature relating to ongoing intelligence operations and/or investigations primarily targeted against hostile

foreign intelligence services, foreign communist organizations and individuals connected with them. A very substantial part of this file is classified "Secret." Although it is not appropriate to provide statistics as to the precise number of actions implemented under this program, it can generally be stated to include approximately ten general types of activity, such as operations involving travel of confidential informants abroad; extended utilization of cooperative individuals and informants abroad; anonymous mailings for the purpose of disrupting activities of a suspected agent of a foreign intelligence service; etc.

(2) Espionage or Soviet-Satellite Intelligence

This program, although officially designated a COINTELPRO program, emphasized intelligence gathering and counterintelligence efforts already being pursued in connection with the Bureau's ongoing foreign intelligence responsibilities. It did not curtail any activity or in any way change the scope of counterintelligence efforts already in effect and continuing today. It was primarily intended to inspire initiative and to encourage ingenuity in the Bureau's continuing counterintelligence efforts against hostile foreign intelligence services.

In the interest of the national security, no statistics or examples of the types of actions implemented under this program may appropriately be disclosed.



Department of Justice

STATEMENT

OF

ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM B. SAXBE

NEWS CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 18, 1974

ASAC *df*
fr


100-10658-51

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>rw</i>	FILED <i>rw</i>
NOV 20 1974	
FBI - RICHMOND	

(P)

b6
b7C

IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR DURING THE COURSE OF MY INITIAL BRIEFING ON CURRENT ISSUES FACING THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, I WAS INFORMED OF THE EXISTENCE OF AN FBI "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM".

AFTER ASCERTAINING THE GENERAL THRUST OF THE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS, I DIRECTED ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL HENRY PETERSEN TO FORM A COMMITTEE CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CONDUCTING A COMPLETE STUDY AND PREPARING A REPORT FOR ME WHICH WOULD DOCUMENT THE BUREAU'S ACTIVITIES IN EACH OF THE SEPARATE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS. THAT STUDY COMMITTEE CONSISTED OF FOUR CRIMINAL DIVISION REPRESENTATIVES AND THREE REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, SELECTED BY DIRECTOR KELLEY.

THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT TO ME STATED THAT THERE WERE SEVEN SEPARATE PROGRAMS -- FIVE DIRECTED AT DOMESTIC

ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS, AND TWO PROGRAMS
DIRECTED AT FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, FOREIGN
ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH THEM.

THESE PROGRAMS WERE IMPLEMENTED AT VARIOUS TIMES DURING
THE PERIOD FROM 1956 TO 1971 WHEN ALL PROGRAMS WERE
DISCONTINUED. THE COMMITTEE FURTHER FOUND THAT 3247
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROPOSALS WERE SUBMITTED OF WHICH
2370 WERE APPROVED. IN 527 INSTANCES, KNOWN RESULTS
WERE ASCERTAINED.

IT IS NOT MY INTENTION AT THIS TIME TO DETAIL FOR
YOU THE PARTICULARS OF THE SEVEN PROGRAMS INASMUCH AS
YOU HAVE BEEN PROVIDED WITH A COPY OF THE COMMITTEE'S
REPORT WHICH HAS BEEN EDITED TO DELETE NATIONAL
SECURITY INFORMATION. THAT DOCUMENT DESCRIBES FULLY
THE ACTIVITIES INVOLVED IN EACH OF THE PROGRAMS.

THE MATERIALS RELEASED TODAY DISCLOSE THAT, IN A SMALL NUMBER OF INSTANCES, SOME OF THESE PROGRAMS INVOLVED WHAT WE CONSIDER TODAY TO BE IMPROPER ACTIVITIES. I AM DISTURBED ABOUT THOSE IMPROPER ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER, I WANT TO STRESS TWO THINGS: FIRST, MOST OF THE ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED UNDER THESE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS WERE LEGITIMATE -- INDEED, THE PROGRAMS WERE IN RESPONSE TO NUMEROUS PUBLIC AND EVEN CONGRESSIONAL DEMANDS FOR STRONGER ACTION BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. SECOND, TO THE EXTENT THAT THERE WERE, NEVERTHELESS, ISOLATED EXCESSES, WE HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO PREVENT THEM FROM EVER HAPPENING AGAIN. IN THIS CONNECTION, DIRECTOR KELLEY LAST DECEMBER SENT A MEMORANDUM TO FBI PERSONNEL STRONGLY REAFFIRMING THE BUREAU POLICY THAT: "FBI EMPLOYEES MUST NOT ENGAGE IN ANY INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITY WHICH COULD ABRIDGE IN ANY WAY THE RIGHTS GUARANTEED TO A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE CONSTITUTION AND UNDER NO

CIRCUMSTANCES SHALL EMPLOYEES OF THE FBI ENGAGE IN
ANY CONDUCT WHICH MAY RESULT IN DEFAMING THE CHARACTER,
REPUTATION, INTEGRITY, OR DIGNITY OF ANY CITIZEN OR
ORGANIZATION OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Kelley Refuses To Bar 'Tricks'

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Justice Department says it does not condone the "dirty tricks" used by the late J. Edgar Hoover to harass radical political groups. But FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley refused yesterday to promise they wouldn't happen again.

Both Justice Department officials and Kelley testified before a House Judiciary subcommittee, with the department officials trying to avoid a controversy over Hoover's methods by saying it does not condone unconstitutional activity and would not allow it to be repeated.

Democrats pressed Kelley to repudiate tactics such as those used against leftist groups in the 1960s by Hoover, under the label "Cointelpro."

All Kelley would say was that he would first get approval of the attorney general or the President before using similar methods.

Cointelpro, first launched against the Communist party in 1956, later targeted in succession the Socialist Workers party, white hate groups, black extremist groups and New Left groups.

The activities, officially described as being legitimate, included some that have been described as "dirty tricks": Informing employers and creditors that individuals were "radicals," faking credentials and infiltrating activist organizations and spreading false tips to cause members of the organizations to distrust one another.

The questioning was directed mainly at Kelley because of his statement Monday defending Cointelpro despite a Justice Department panel's finding that it included activities "that are reprehensible in a free society."

Kelley said Hoover was responding to a wave of violence directed at overthrowing the government and the FBI would be "abdicated its duty" if it had not sought to disrupt the organizations he felt were fomenting disorder.

"If I see any extraordinary situation in which extraordinary moves are needed to counteract it, I would present it to the Department of Justice," Kelley said.

Subcommittee chairman Don Edwards, D-Calif., said in a statement opening the hearing: "I suggest that the philosophy of supporting Cointelpro is the subversive notion that any public official, the President or a policeman, possesses a kind of inherent power to set aside the Constitution."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 22

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7c

Date: 11-21-74

Edition: EVENING

Author:

Editor:

Title: COINTELPRO

Character:

or

1-100-10658

Classification: 1-80-710*

Submitting Office: RICHMOND

☐ Being Investigated

100-10658-53

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>PN</i>	FILED <i>PN</i>

NOV 21 1974

FBI - RICHMOND

Original sent to Bureau by R/S

11-22-74 @

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Telling Mommy:

Attorney General William Saxbe has released a report describing FBI "de-stabilization" of the Ku Klux Klan, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers' Party, and the New Left from 1956 through 1971. The report says that some of the FBI's dark deeds "can only be considered abhorrent in a free society." Much media coverage has centered on the word "abhorrent," and there is bound to be a certain amount of outrage from professional civil libertarians.

Just what did the FBI do to the Klansmen and the Leftists? Well, first of all, it called their mommies! Yes. According to the *Washington Star-News*, a favorite "dirty trick" was "making telephone calls to parents of group-members advising them of their son's connection with the group or advising the mother of the group leader that his activities would put him in danger."

The FBI also tried to rally community leaders against these groups, spread bogus information, set up sham organizations, and co-operated with local police. According to the report, most of these doings were "clearly legitimate and proper undertakings under the scope of the FBI's ongoing activities. . . ."

Such actions are hardly grist for the professional civil libertarians' atrocity mill. There still are no Gulag Archipelagos in the United States. The FBI's de-stabilization came under the heading of psychological warfare, while the groups on which the "dirty tricks" were played were burning, lynching, and blowing up.

So the outrage should be kept under control.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 14

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
RICHMOND, VA.b6
b7C

Date: 11-23-74

Edition: EVENING

Author:

Editor:

Title: COINTELPRO

Character:

or

Classification: 1-80-4*

Submitting Office: RICHMOND

☐ Being InvestigatedSEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

NOV 24 1974

FBI - RICHMOND

Original sent to Bureau by R/S

11-25-74 (2)

b6
b7C

80-675

November 25, 1974

[redacted]
Assistant U. S. Attorney
U. S. Attorney's Office
Roanoke, Virginia

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]:

It was a pleasure seeing you on Saturday and having the opportunity to spend some time with you and your wife.

Enclosed are 40 copies of the Director's Release of November 18.

Dick and I sincerely appreciate your taking the trouble to disseminate the Release to the ex-Agents in your district.

If you get into Richmond, we would be most happy to have you at our home for lunch or dinner however your time schedule might permit.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR F. NEHRBASS
Assistant Special Agent in Charge

1 - Addressee
Enclosures - 40

2 - Richmond
(1- 80-675)
(1- 800-10658)

AFN:shb
(3)

100-10658-55

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Seen 'Potential Threat to Civil Liberties'

BOSTON (UPI)—A former assistant director of the FBI says the bureau constitutes "a potential threat to our civil liberties" and its internal security responsibilities should be transferred to an independent board chosen by Congress.

"The FBI as it is now structured is a potential threat to our civil liberties; recent events indicate this," said William C. Sullivan, who rose to assistant director of the FBI in 30 years of service. "It would help greatly in removing the FBI from politics and, politics from the FBI," Sullivan said. "This would be a tremendous accomplishment for the good of the country."

His recommendation was among many by a mix of prestigious citizens in a report, made public today, of the Roscoe Pound-American Trial Lawyers Foundation's 1974 Annual Chief Justice Earl Warren Conference on Advocacy. The group concluded that the danger of

government trampling on individual rights mandates a ban on bugging and abandonment of political surveillance by the federal government.

Sullivan concurred with most of the group's recommendations, and emphasized that controls on the FBI were central to retaining civil liberties.

He advocated dismantling of the FBI's responsibility for internal security and intelligence and transferring its responsibility to an independent board, saying "the need for government to control itself" was vital.

But he said he did not agree with calls for a congressional committee to oversee intelligence gathering. Such an arrangement, Sullivan said, could be susceptible to political influence, as he charged the FBI has been.

He said part of the problem with the FBI's role in intelligence gathering was that agents were instructed by men lacking expertise, experience and knowledge.

A independent board must be set up as a buffer between the Justice Department and Congress to supervise intelligence gathering, he said. "There should be no unilateral or direct liaison or relations between an independent domestic security and intelligence system or agency and the White House."

The 53 leading lawyers, political and computer scientists, journalists and lawmakers who participated in the conference, expressed a "general skepticism toward electronic surveillance" and its value.

They based their conclusions on a belief that it was of little value to conventional law enforcement, was used primarily for minor offenses, produced serious invasions of privacy and was difficult to control.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 2

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
RICHMOND, VA.

b6
b7c

Date: 11-25-74
Edition: EVENING
Author:
Editor:
Title: CRITICISM OF FBI

Character: ①-100-10658*
or 1-80-710*
Classification: 1-62-1354*
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-10658-56

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 28 1974	
FBI - RICHMOND	

Original sent to Bureau by R/S

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~~ASAC~~

11/24/74
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Room bugging, the group said, was more insidious than telephone tapping because of the greater invasion of privacy it entailed. In any case, they said, if federal electronic surveillance is permitted, authority for such operations should stem from a single agency, the Department of Justice.

Additionally, they said, a congressional committee with sweeping powers, should be set up in both houses of Congress to review all federal wiretaps.

The report also urged the abolishment of the present universal practice of Social Security card disclosure.

Noting that the use of Social Security numbers have become almost universal as a means of identification, the conferees almost unanimously recommended that persons not be compelled to disclose their numbers unless expressly required in specific instances by federal law.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI counter-intelligence was vital

By Clarence H. Kelley
Director, Federal Bureau
of Investigation

EDITOR'S NOTE:
Criticism of FBI counter-intelligence work is answered by Director Kelley. The critics appear to be deluded by beliefs of some that the world Communist conspiracy is dead.

Attorney General William B. Saxbe has released a report regarding FBI counter-intelligence programs. This report was prepared by a Justice Department committee which included FBI representatives that was specially appointed early this year to study and report on those programs.

Since taking the oath of office as director on July 9, 1973, I also, have made a detailed study of these same FBI counter-intelligence programs.

The first of them—one directed at the Communist Party, USA—was instituted in September, 1956. None of the programs was continued beyond April, 1971.

The purpose of these counter-intelligence programs was to prevent dangerous, and even potentially deadly, acts against individuals, organizations, and institutions—both public and

private—across the United States.

They were designed to counter the conspiratorial efforts of revolutionary elements in this country, as well as to neutralize extremists of both the Left and the Right who were threatening, and in many instances fomenting, acts of violence.

The study which I have made convinces me that the FBI employees involved in these programs acted entirely in good faith and within the bounds of what was expected of them by the President, the Attorney General, the Congress, and the American People.

Each of these counter-intelligence programs bore the approval of the then-Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Proposals for courses of action to be taken under these programs were subject to approval in advance, as well as to constant review, by FBI field office and headquarters officials.

Throughout the tenure of these programs, efforts admittedly were made to disrupt the anarchistic plans and activities of violence-prone groups whose publicly announced goal was to bring America to its knees. For the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pg 4, Sec 1
Staunton-News Leader
Staunton, Va.

b6
b7c

Date: 12/1/74

Edition: Home Final

Author:

Editor:

Title: FBI counter-intelligence was vital

Character: 80-147

or 80-710

Classification: 100-10658

Submitting Office: Rn

☐ Being Investigated

100-10658-57

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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DEC 3 1974	
ICHMUKU	

Original sent to Bureau by R/S 12-4-74 @

Let me remind those who would now criticize the FBI's actions that the United States Capitol was bombed; that other explosions rocked public and private offices and buildings; that rioters led by revolutionary extremists laid siege to military, industrial, and educational facilities; and that killings, maimings, and other atrocities accompanied such acts of violence from New England to California.

The victims of these acts of violence were human beings—men, women, and children who looked to the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to protect their lives, rights, and property. An important part of the FBI's response was to devise counter-intelligence programs to minimize the threats and the fears confronting these citizens.

In carrying out its counter-intelligence programs, the FBI received the personal encouragement of myriad citizens both within and without the government. Many Americans feared for their own safety and for the safety of their govern-

ment. Others were revolted by the rhetoric of violence and the acts of violence that were being preached and practiced across our country by hard-core extremists.

I invite your attention to the gravity of the problem as it then existed, as well as the need for decisive and effective counteraction by the criminal justice and intelligence communities.

I want to assure you that Director Hoover did not conceal from superior authorities the fact that the FBI was engaging in neutralizing and disruptive tactics against revolutionary and violence-prone groups. For example, in a communication concerning a revolutionary organization that he sent to the then-attorney general and the White House on May 8, 1958, Mr. Hoover furnished details of techniques utilized by the FBI to promote disruption of that organization.

A second communication calling attention to measures being employed as an adjunct to the FBI's regular investigative operations concerning this same revolutionary organization was sent to the attorney general-designate and the deputy attorney general-designate by Mr. Hoover on Jan. 10, 1961.

Mr. Hoover also sent communications to the then-attorneys general in 1965, 1967, and 1969 furnishing them information regarding disruptive actions the FBI was employing to neutralize activities of certain Rightist hate groups.

I have previously expressed my feeling that the FBI's counter-intelligence programs had an impact on the crises of the time and, therefore, that they helped to bring about a favorable change in this country.

As I said in December, 1973: "Now, in the context of a different era where peace has returned to the college campuses and revolutionary forces no longer pose a major threat to peace and tranquility of our cities, some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counter-intelligence program—even against hostile and arrogant forces which openly sought to destroy this nation.

"I share the public's deep concern about the citizen's right to privacy and the preservation of all rights guaranteed under the Constitution and Bill of Rights."

My position remains unchanged.

[REDACTED]
December 4, 1974

b6
b7C

Dear [REDACTED]:

I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation for your prompt publication of Director Kelley's statement of November 18, 1974, relating to the FBI's Counterintelligence Program, which appeared in the December 1, 1974, issue of your newspaper. Needless to say you acted on my request with unbelievable dispatch and I feel your reading public will have better knowledge of exactly what this program entailed. I am also grateful for your editorial comment, which is most appropriate.

Once again, many thanks for your support and on behalf of myself and my associates in the Richmond Division of the FBI we extend to you Joyous Holiday Greetings.

Warmest regards,

S/ DICK ROGGE

RICHARD D. ROGGE
Special Agent in Charge

- 1 - Addressee
- 2 - Bureau, Attn.:

External Affairs Division (Enc. 1)

Re: BUREAU-WIDE INFORMATION PROGRAM, 74-47,
FBI COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, Buairtel to Albany, 11/19/74

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original of the above-referred-to article, which was published as result of the FBI's contact with [REDACTED] (Continued on Page 2)

- ③ - Richmond (1 - 80-147)
(1 - 80-710)
(1 - 100-10658)

RDR/gsl
(6) *gel*

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED *✓*
INDEXED _____
FILED *✓*

100-10658-58

b6
b7C

RH 80-147

[redacted] of the above newspaper and has supported us on several occasions in the recent past. In view of his prompt response to SAC's request it is recommended that a letter of appreciation be directed to him for his support of the FBI's position.

There is no information in Richmond files which would preclude such a letter.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Kelley another Hoover?

Citizens got some sobering news last week to go along with their reminders of how the FBI and the Internal Revenue Service have committed crimes in searching out supposed criminals and "subversives."

FBI director Clarence M. Kelley declined Wednesday to say he would not reinstitute any of the admitted "improper" tactics used by the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover. A Justice Department committee has found the tactics "reprehensible in a free society."

The FBI did such things as broadcast information about people's sex life, gave out false information and handed out anonymous tips designed to create distrust among members of organizations it sought to disrupt.

The FBI should be directed by a man willing to employ proper methods of doing his job. Rather than having a man not in tune with the challenge, efforts should be made to get a director who would not be reluctant to disavow the use of reprehensible tactics.

As for the IRS, which was

delving into the tax records of such groups as Americans for Democratic Action, the Urban League, National Council of Churches for Christ and the Welfare Rights Organization, there is no question but that this was a case of witch-hunting and a conservative plot to crack the police-state whip.

After a few months operation the IRS noted that many of the organizations being checked were, "for practical purposes, insolvent."

Between July 1969 when the IRS special force started until it was dismantled in August, 1973, 6,703 of the 8,585 individuals and 2,201 of the 2,873 organizations checked had "no apparent revenue significance or potential."

The IRS clearly was up to monkey business of the kind government agencies should not be involved with in a free society.

Knowing about these federal escapades will make us more free or more enslaved, depending on the demands citizens make on their officials.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 4

RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

b6
b7c

Date: 11/30/74

Edition: WEEKLY

Author:

Editor:

Title: CRITICISM OF FBI

Character: 1- 62-1354*
1- 80-769*
or 1- 80-710*
Classification: 1- 100-10658*
Submitting Office: RICHMOND

☐ Being Investigated

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

DEC 4 1974

FBI - RICHMOND

Original sent to Bureau by R/S

12-4-74

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The FBI papers Political games

On Nov. 18, Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe and FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley released a report detailing the FBI's counter-intelligence programs from 1956 to 1971. The report is excerpted below.

According to FBI documents, all seven programs implemented under COINTELPRO were specifically authorized by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. COINTELPRO programs were apparently not reported to any of the attorneys general in office during the periods in which they were implemented. Only certain aspects of the bureau's efforts to penetrate and disrupt the Communist Party USA and white hate groups — apparently conducted under COINTELPRO although not specifically stated as such (the term "COINTELPRO" was used only inside the bureau), were reported to at least three attorneys general and key White House staff of two Presidents between 1958 and 1969. It must be emphasized that none of the activities so reported involved any improper conduct. One additional attorney general during this period was briefed on the bureau's "counterattack" against the Communist Party USA. Finally, bureau documents disclosed that the House Appropriations Subcommittee was briefed on the bureau's counterintelligence programs including the character of COINTELPRO and examples of specific activities undertaken in connection with this program, as early as 1958. Under the directives establishing the programs, no counterintelligence action could be initiated by the field without specific prior bureau authorization. Except in a very small number of

instances this policy was strictly adhered to. The great majority of actions were either approved or disapproved at the assistant director level or above, while a very small number were acted on at a lower level.

As indicated above, the maximum time span of all seven COINTELPRO programs covered the period 1956 to 1971. All programs, however, were not in effect during this entire period.

With respect to the five programs directed at domestic-based organizations and individuals, a total of some 3,247 proposals for counterintelligence activity were submitted by the various FBI field offices for consideration from the inception of the programs in 1956 to their termination in 1971 — more than half of them arising under the Communist Party USA program. Some 2,370 of these proposals, or approximately 73 per cent, were approved and implemented. Of these proposals which were approved and implemented, known results were obtained in only some 527, or approximately 22 per cent....

Reports with respect to the five domestic based COINTELPRO programs disclosed a close similarity in the types of activities conducted under each program. In general, the activities common to all programs may be grouped into approximately a dozen categories. As indicated above, the overwhelming bulk of these activities were clearly legitimate and proper undertakings, within the scope of the FBI's ongoing responsibilities, and are listed as "COINTELPRO" activities only because they were reported as such. They may be characterized as follows:

100-10658-60

Original sent to Bureau by R/S 12-7-74 FBI - RICHMOND

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 4,33

RICHMOND MERCURY
RICHMOND, VA

b6
b7C

Date: 12-4-74

Edition: WEEKLY

Author:

Editor:

Title: COINTELPRO

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: RICHMOND

☐ Being Investigated

SEARCHED INDEXED

SERIALIZED FILED

DEC 7 1974

(1) Sending anonymous or fictitious materials to members or groups

The vast majority of these actions consisted of items of information designed to create dissension and cause disruption within the various groups. Of the total number of actions implemented under all five domestic based programs, approximately 40 per cent fell under this category.

(2) Dissemination of public record information to media sources

Actions implemented under this category consisted primarily of making public source

material available to friendly media representatives for the purpose of using such material in a newspaper, magazine, or radio or television program in order to expose the aims and activities of the various groups. This type of activity represented approximately 20 per cent of all actions implemented under domestic COINTELPRO efforts. It was implemented in some 360 instances in connection with the Communist Party USA program; in six instances in connection with the Socialist Workers Party; in 26 instances in connection with black extremists; in

15 instances in connection with white hate groups; and in 25 instances in connection with the New Left.

(3) Leaking informant based or non-public information to media sources

Most of the actions implemented in this category related to the leaking of investigative material to friendly media sources for the purpose of exposing the nature, aims and membership of the various groups. There were no instances of this type of activity in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program, and relatively few in connection with the Communist Party USA and New Left programs. Approximately one-seventh of the actions implemented under the black extremists program, and one-sixth of the actions implemented under the white hate groups program fell under this category.

(4) Advising local, State and Federal authorities of civil and criminal violations by group members

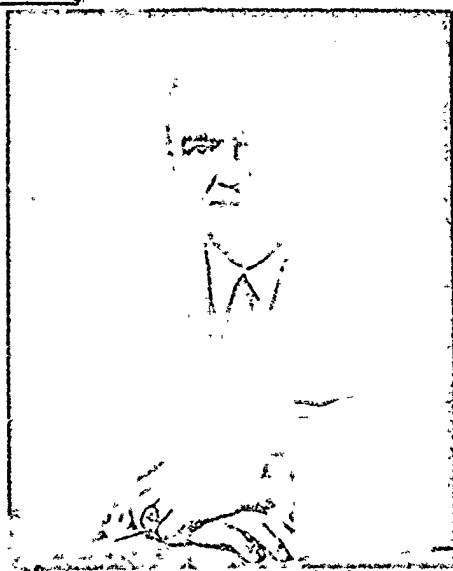
This activity — totally legal — represented approximately eight per cent of the total number of actions implemented under all five domestic based programs.

(5) Use of informants to disrupt a group's activities

Most of the actions implemented under this category were for the purpose of using informants to disrupt the activities of various groups by sowing dissension and exploiting disputes. No statistics are available as to the number of instances of this type of activity in connection with the Communist Party USA program, but it seems that informants were used in this program to cause disruption but not as agents provocateurs. This type of activity represented less than two per cent of the activities undertaken in connection with the four other domestic based COINTELPRO programs.

(6) Informing employers, credit bureaus and creditors of members' activities

The majority of actions implemented under this category consisted of notifying credit bureaus, creditors, employers and prospective employers of members' illegal, immoral, radical



J. Edgar Hoover

and Communist Party activities in order to affect adversely their credit standing or employment status. No statistics are available as to the number of instances in which this type of activity was used in connection with the Communist Party USA program, although the bureau has reported that it was used in a number of instances. It was used in only a small number of instances in connection with the four other domestic-based COINTELPRO programs, namely in one instance in connection with the Socialist Workers Party, seven instances in connection with black extremists, 15 instances in connection with white hate groups, and 20 instances in connection with the New Left, or a total of some 43 instances in all domestic based COINTELPRO programs other than the Communist Party USA.

(7) Informing or contacting businesses and persons with whom members had economic dealings of members' activities

The majority of actions implemented under this category consisted of notifying persons or businesses with whom members had economic dealings of the members' association with the various groups involved for the purpose of adversely affecting their economic interests. No instances of this type of activity were reported in connection with the Communist Party USA program. It was implemented in only one instance in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program, in 62 instances in connection with the black extremists, 14 instances in connection with the white hate groups, and eight instances in connection with the New Left, or a total of some 85 instances in all domestic-based programs.

(8) Interviewing or contacting members

This type of activity — again, totally legal — was implemented in only a small number of instances for the purpose of letting members know that the FBI was aware of their activity and also in an attempt to develop them as informants. No instances of this type of activity were reported in connection with the Communist Party USA, Socialist Workers Party and black extremists programs, and in only 11 instances in connection with white hate groups and in one instance in connection with the New Left. It should be noted that many FBI field offices carried on this activity routinely but did not attribute it to a counterintelligence function but rather to the routine investigation of individuals or organizations.

(9) Attempting to use religious and civil leaders and organizations in disruptive activities

The majority of actions implemented under this category involved furnishing information to civic and religious leaders and organizations in order to gain their support and to persuade them to exert pressure on state and local governments, employers and landlords to the detriment of the various groups. No instances of this type of

activity were reported in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program, in 36 instances in connection with black extremists, in 13 instances in connection with white hate groups and in ten instances in connection with the New Left, or a total of some 61 instances in connection with all domestic-based programs.

(10) Activity related to political or judicial processes

This type of activity represents less than one-half of one per cent of all COINTELPRO activities — a total of only 12 instances in connection with all five domestic-based programs.

Although small in number, these 12 instances are among the most troubling in all of the COINTELPRO efforts. Consequently, in the interest of full disclosure, they are described in detail as follows: tipping off the press that a write-in candidate for Congress would be attending a group's meeting at a specific time and place; leaking information to the press that a group official was actively campaigning for a person running for public office; furnishing the arrest and conviction record of a member of a group who was a candidate for local public office to a friendly newspaper which published the information; sending an anonymous letter to a political candidate alerting him that a group's members were active in his campaign and asking that he not be a tool of the group; sending an anonymous letter to a local school board official, purporting to be from a concerned parent, alerting him that candidates for the school board were members of a group; mailing an anonymous letter to a member of a group who was a mayoralty candidate in order to create distrust toward his comrades; furnishing back-

ground of a group who was a candidate for public office, including arrests and questionable marital status, to news media contacts; furnishing public source data on a group to a local grand jury chairman who had requested it in connection with the grand jury's probe of the shooting of police by group members; furnishing information concerning arrests of an individual to a court that had earlier given this individual a suspended sentence and also furnishing this same information to his employer who later discharged the individual; making an anonymous telephone call to a defense attorney, after a federal prosecution had resulted in a mistrial, advising him (apparently falsely) that one of the defendants and another well-known group individual were FBI informants.

(11) *Establishing sham organizations for disruptive purposes*

This type of activity was utilized only in connection with the white hate groups program and was implemented in only five instances primarily for the purpose of using the organizations to send out material intended to disrupt various such groups.

(12) *Informing family or others of radical or immoral activity*

The majority of actions

implemented under this category involved the sending of anonymous communications to family members or groups to which individuals belonged advising them of immoral or radical activities on the part of various individuals. These activities represent a little more than one per cent of all COINTELPRO activities — a total of some 30 instances in all domestic-based programs. This type of activity was reported to have been used infrequently in connection with the Communist Party USA program, and was not used in connection with the Socialist Workers Party program. It was reported to have been used in 12 instances in connection with the black extremists program, in two instances in connection with white hate groups, and in 16 instances in connection with the New Left.

In addition to the above 12 categories, it was found that a small number of miscellaneous actions, approximately 20 instances in all the domestic-based programs, were implemented which did not fit in any specific category. Again, it is appropriate in the interests of full disclosure that these activities be set forth in detail. The most egregious examples of these miscellaneous types of activity are as follows: making arrangements for local authorities to stop two group members on a narcotics pretext and by prearrangement having a police radio operator indicate that another individual wanted them to call her with purpose of having this individual come under suspicion as a police informer; use of "citizen band" radio, using the same frequency being used by demonstrators, to provide disinformation; making telephone calls to parents of members of a group advising them of the connection of their son with the group; or advising the mother of a group leader that his actions would put him in danger; forging of a group's business card for informant purposes; reproducing a group leader's signature stamp; obtaining tax returns of members of a group; reproducing a group's recruiting card; and investigating the love life of a group leader for dissemination to the press.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI's 'Disruptive Tactics'

Atty. Gen. William Saxbe and FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley have split on the issue of how far the FBI should go in its activities against domestic political organizations. Mr. Kelley has asked for legislation to permit his agency "under emergency situations, to do some things which counteract the effectiveness" of extremist groups. The Attorney General has denounced disruptive tactics used for 15 years in FBI counter-intelligence work.

Who has been the target of these undercover actions? They include the Communist party, the Social Workers party, "black extremist" and "white hate" groups, and the New Left—some of them known to be disposed to violence. None of them is exactly popular with most Americans, and few might object to the FBI or other law enforcement agencies infiltrating them to gather information on their plans, perhaps to head off any crimes they plan to commit.

It goes a bit far, however, if the FBI or any other government agency considers it proper to try breaking up or disrupting an organization simply because its political beliefs are far off center. The Constitution protects political thoughts of all colorations. A person may not commit crimes to advance his cause; but he is not to be muzzled or harassed in voicing his beliefs or in peaceably assembling or carrying on other lawful activities with like-minded people.

True, there is a risk in letting some zanies operate as if they were as "respectable" as members of a major political party. That is one of the risks that go with having a free society: Some will abuse the right. Generally, living with the risk seems preferable to living with state-imposed thought control.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Kelley seeks to justify, even make legitimate, an activity that led Mr. Hoover's FBI into excesses. Great as Mr. Hoover was, in his later years he came to look upon himself and his agency as the appointed guardians of Americanism—and defined that to include an ideological purity that abhorred the extremes of thought that men like Thomas Jefferson were willing to tolerate. Too often it seems that the Constitution the FBI protects is pre-Bill of Rights vintage.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 6
The Roanoke Times
Roanoke, Va.

b6
b7C

Date: 11-26-74
Edition: Morning
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: RH
100-10658
☐ Being Investigated

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SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 27 1974	
FBI - RICHMOND	

Orig. to Bu
11-27-74

Dissemination
Routing Slip
FD-417 (9-12-69)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

To: ☒ Director, Att.: EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DIVISION
☐ SAC.

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☐ Honolulu	☐ Norfolk	

Date 11/27/74

RE: BUREAU-WIDE INFORMATION PROGRAM 74-42

REMARKS: Attached editorial takes issue with Bureau stand on Counterintelligence Program. This paper in the past has on occasion expressed views in variance to those expressed by the Bureau. It is not recommended any action be taken on this editorial inasmuch as it does recognize differences in approach between the Department and the FBI.

Enc. 1

SAC RICHARD D. ROGGE

FILE #:

OFFICE RICHMOND

1 - 80-6
1 - 100-10658
AFN/mhh

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED _____
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FILED _____

100-10658-62

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

IT SEEMS TO ME:



Liberals right about FBI

By Preston M. Yancy

I wish to deal firstly with the recent disclosures that activities designed to interfere with activist groups during the 1960's and secondly with the suspension of South Africa from this session of the United Nations.

It now is clear that those blacks from Kansas City who opposed Clarence Kelley for director of the FBI were correct. Mr. Kelley has adopted an "ends justifies the means" attitude which portends serious problems for law enforcement in the country. Mr. Kelley should be removed.

In the 1960's J. Edgar Hoover ruled over the FBI with dictatorial powers. The original criticism of Hoover came from civil rights leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and liberals such as Eugene McCarthy. When liberals and civil rights leaders raised questions about Mr. Hoover's behavior they were castigated by the whole range of self-styled conservatives.

Now it turns out that Mr. Hoover went off on his own and harassed legal groups and it is quite possible that much of the illegal and disruptive activities that took place were instigated by people on the FBI payroll.

Attorney General Saxbe is upset while FBI Director Clarence Kelley has supported Mr. Hoover's illegal activities. We hardly need a FBI chief who has not learned the folly of secret, illegal, unauthorized police activity from the events of the past two years.

The United Nations General Assembly has voted to suspend South Africa from this session of the U.N. Generally speaking this has annoyed non-black Americans, liberals and conservatives alike.

Both the Richmond News Leader and the Washington Post objected. Some of the criticism against South Africa's suspension makes sense at a rhetorical level while some criticism such as the News Leader's is the same all bigoted bovine feces.

The Afro-Asian bloc suspended South Africa because South Africa persists with the most vicious bigoted system of racism against non-whites in the world today. And suspending South Africa is about all the "Black-Brown" alliance has the power to do.

RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Original sent to Bureau by R/S

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 5

RICHMOND AFRO-AMERICAN
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

b6
b7C

Date: 11/30/74

Edition: WEEKLY

Author:

Editor:

Title: CRITICISM OF FBI

Character: 1- 62-1354*
1- 80-769*
or 1- 80-710*
Classification: 1- 100-10658*
Submitting Office: RICHMOND

☐ Being Investigated

100-10658-63

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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DEC 4 1974	
FBI - RICHMOND	

liance has the power to do.

It is well and good to talk about how the U.N. should include all nations, but some of those advancing this argument saw nothing wrong with keeping Communist China out of the U.N. And the Afro-Asian bloc is fully aware that if the United States and its allies truly wanted to cause South Africa to reform its racist policies they could.

The most repugnant and sinister defense of South Africa is the argument that since many poor blacks go to South Africa in the attempt to find employment South Africa can not be all bad. And there is the argument that many African nations lack freedom and democracy.

Yes, many poverty-stricken Africans do go to South Africa seeking jobs. But the argument that desperate people should be subjected to racist indignity could only be advanced by very strange mentalities. And the European exploitation of Africa accounts for much of the poverty in Africa.

It is further true that ~~some of~~ Africa lacks democracy and tolerance. There is discrimination; there is tribal warfare; there are caste systems. Some of this is due to the fact that all men are created equally tolerant and equally bigoted.

On the other hand, Africa has a lot of problems that may be attributed to espionage activities promoted by non-African nations. In many instances sound progress in Africa has been subverted by Western CIA-type operations.

So it is hardly fair to criticize Africa for those problems which stem from centuries of colonial exploitation and the continued interference of colonial powers. And none of the problems and sins of the rest of Africa justifies South Africa's bigotry.

The Afro-Asian bloc used the only means at its disposal to show its disdain for South African bigotry. The rhetoric about the U.N. as a universal forum and the snide criticism of African faults and the arguments that poor Africans go to South Africa seeking work will not obscure South African bigotry or American and Western complicity in South Africa's repugnant behavior.

F B I

Date: 1/17/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (100-10658)(C)

NEW LEFT
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BUDED 1/24/75

Re Bureau airtel to Albany 12/24/74.

Classification project relating to captioned
matter has been completed by the Richmond Division.

-C-
SW

2 - Bureau
1 - Richmond
SWL/mhh
(3) 

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

100-10658-65

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M. Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, RICHMOND (105-5096)

DATE: 1/15/75

FROM : SUPERVISOR [REDACTED]

b6
b7c

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL MATTERS
BUDED 1/23/75

Re Bureau airtel 12/24/74.

On this date, I contacted Bureau Supervisor JAMES GRANT, Black Nationalist Section, regarding referenced airtel and some questions we had whether or not certain other communications in this file should be classified. GRANT advised that the one communication (Serial #23) which the Bureau directed Richmond to classify was because that particular communication if produced would definitely identify [REDACTED]. He said the Bureau has reviewed the entire Bureau file on this matter, and no other communications between the Bureau and Richmond should be classified. He said there is no basis to classify solely because communications contain information regarding this program and they should only be classified if such communications divulge our sources. He said the only thing Richmond would have to do further is to review their file to determine if communications between Richmond and other offices (not FBIHQ) or intraoffice memos tend to identify our sources, if so, they should be classified and appropriate offices advised.

b7D

He concluded the above format should be followed in our file reviews of all other Counterintelligence Programs, namely:

COINTELPRO - Espionage

COINTELPRO - New Left

COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups

COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA

Counterintelligence and Special Operations

COINTELPRO - Black Extremists

Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program

100-10658-66

1 - 105-5096

1 - Ea. Above Listed Program

SWL/mhh

(8)



5010-110

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JAN 15 1975	
FBI - RICHMOND	

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Monitored Students Here

Efforts by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to monitor and, if possible, disrupt radical student groups in Richmond and elsewhere in Virginia have been outlined in FBI documents released in Washington.

The information relating to the late 1960s and early 1970s was contained in FBI documents released under provisions of the federal Freedom of Information Act.

According to the documents, the FBI had almost daily contact with members of the intelligence squad of the Richmond Police Bureau and had a network of informants at various college campuses in Virginia.

Also included were various counter-intelligence plans aimed at disrupting radical activities. The plans were dismissed by top FBI officials as being too risky.

One of the documents said the Richmond Police Bureau's intelligence squad has a very active interest in disrupting New Left activities in Richmond.

Richmond Police Chief Frank S. Duling could not be reached for comment today on the FBI reports.

One former Justice Department official here said today, however, that intelligence reports received from the FBI on a regular basis indicated that no plans to disrupt radical ac-

tivities in Richmond actually were put into effect.

A former FBI official here said today he was in no position to comment until he had an opportunity to read the documents in question.

Among the disruption plans that were abandoned, the FBI documents said, was the distribution of fliers at the University of Virginia and Virginia

Commonwealth University that were intended to discourage student participation in radical groups.

Specific monitoring targets, the FBI documents indicated, were chapters of the Students for a Democratic Society and the Southern Students Organizing Committee at the University of Virginia.

The documents indicated that the monitoring activities included a close liaison with various Virginia college officials.

Richmond monitoring targets, the documents indicated, included a shop on Ryland Street that displayed a sign that aroused FBI suspicions and a communal living type of house in the 1400 block of Floyd Ave.

Various types of monitoring activities were receiving federal court support during the period in question.

In 1971, for example, a federal judge here rejected a plea that Richmond police be restrained from observing and photographing Vietnam war protest demonstrations.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pages 1 & 8

"Richmond News
Leader
Richmond, Va.

Date: 11/23/77
Edition: Evening

Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Richmond

100-10658-67
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

NOV 25 1977

RICHMOND b6
b7c

Best Copy Available

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Monitored New Left Here, Made Effort to Discredit It

By Merrill Brown

Media General News Service

WASHINGTON — The FBI monitored and attempted to discredit the activities of leftist student groups in Richmond and on campuses across Virginia during the late 60s and early 70s, according to bureau documents released this week.

The documents also point out that the FBI had almost daily contact with members of the Richmond Police Department's Intelligence Squad, which one memo said also was intensely concerned with the activists.

The squad has a very active interest in disrupting New Left activities in Richmond, according to a document dated Jan. 11, 1969, and sent to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover from the Richmond field office.

(Contacted last night, Richmond Police Chief Frank S. Duling said that he would have to see the FBI document before he would comment.)

More than 52,000 pages of documents detailing the FBI's Cointelpro (counterintelligence program) were released under a series of Freedom of Information Act requests from journalists and individuals who suspected that FBI activities were directed at them.

The documents detailing the bureau's interest in radical activities in Virginia begin in 1966, when the Richmond agents noted the formation of chapters of the

Students for a Democratic Society and the Southern Students Organizing Committee at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

In 1968, the SSOC had about 20 members, according to the FBI, although in one memo an agent was said to be well aware of the potential dangers of the SSOC and through an unnamed informant influenced the University of Virginia administration to the extent that [name withheld] has publicly announced that he will not tolerate activities at the university that would be disruptive of school administration, classes, etc.

To date, the Richmond office said in a May 29, 1968, memo to Hoover, "it is felt the most effective means used to combat the growth of SSOC and SDA on campuses in the Richmond Division is to maintain a very close liaison with school officials."

This liaison which has been at least to some instructive, has resulted in the development of a hard core opposed in the student councils to leftist movements and activities.

A month later, the FBI noted that after monitoring the SSOC members, "no information has been developed at any time concerning unusual or immoral habits and living conditions."

By June 2, 1968, Hoover was told by the Richmond office that it had developed confidential sources on three Virginia

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pages A-1&11

"Richmond Times-
Dispatch"
Richmond, Va.

Date: 11/23/77
Edition: Morning

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Richmond

100-10658-68

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 23 1977	
RICHMOND FBI/DC	
b6 b7C	

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campuses to monitor the student groups. The FBI said it had four such sources at Virginia State College, three at the University of Virginia and two at Virginia Union University.

These sources, though primarily within the faculties, have included some students, the memo said. It is anticipated that the student coverage will be expanded in the future but on a very select basis.

The memo goes on to note that the "sons and daughters of bureau personnel are often students" at the local universities and "would be very helpful in furnishing the desired information."

The FBI apparently monitored the activities of those students carefully enough to note in one memo that two students in the Charlottesville group had been subscribers to *The Worker*, a socialist weekly.

Further, the Richmond FBI office tried to institute several counterintelligence plans that Hoover or his associates deemed "too risky."

On Dec. 6, 1968, a memo was sent to Hoover requesting approval of a plan to distribute fliers on the campuses of the University of Virginia and Virginia Commonwealth University which would discourage interest in the political

groups. The flier, to be signed by "a Group for Liberal Student Government," were aimed at discrediting the SDS, the SSOC and "other New Left groups of kooks and anti-Americans."

"We don't think," the proposed flier read, "that opinions and actions of American students should be shaped or influenced by such a small but loud minority. Or by a minority that stoops to obscenities and counseling of depravities in an effort to undermine American institutions and loyalties."

The flier then noted the appearance of a sign in a shop on Ryland Street in Richmond which "contains four-letter words that are obscene and in general is another New Left attack on an important American institution."

"To support these organizations is to support groups that have never opposed a Communist program that resorts to filth and obscenities to express its opposition to American ways of life that makes no contribution to your school... but rather is disruptive and seeks to destroy the opportunity for you, the serious-minded student to pursue the studies in which you are enrolled," the flier was to read.

Apparently fearing that during posting of the fliers a student might recognize a local FBI agent, Hoover dismissed the idea.

The Richmond office also asked permission to encourage the chamber of commerce to develop minority hiring and education programs so that blacks would ignore the appeals of "extremist" groups.

Despite Hoover's rejection of the flier plan, the FBI continued to monitor the activities of the unnamed Ryland Street shop. A Dec. 19, 1968 memo to Hoover noted that the store sells literature "pro-Castro, pro-Che Guevara, pro-Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh, anti-Selective Service and direct and express opposition and disrespect for many American institutions." The memo said the store sold "items popular with hippies."

Eight days later, Hoover told the Richmond agents to "consider all the legal aspects that are entailed in the operation of such a store."

In January 1969, the FBI discussed its work with the Richmond police intelligence Division, saying only that the FBI "pointed out" to the city officials "what seemed to be ways in which the city of Richmond could take action against [name or group withheld] on grounds of disorderly conduct, obscenity acts against the dignity of the community, etc."

The Richmond FBI Richmond office in April 1969 wrote Hoover to note the presence of SSOC members living in a "communal living" type of house in the 1400 block of Floyd Ave., near the VCU campus.

"The communal living center continues to be a source of friction within the local area and community and it is this friction which has the greatest potential for counterintelligence activities," the April 22, 1969, memo said.

The FBI said that a Richmond vice squad crackdown on local drug abuse had created an atmosphere so that there was "far less than a friendly welcome in the Richmond area" for SSOC members as well as anyone who might appear in hippie-type dress.

But the Richmond office apparently had yet to take counterintelligence measures in connection with the "communal" house. The FBI director's office wrote to encourage a more active stance after receipt of the April memo.

"It is not sufficient for you to rely upon the local community or the [name withheld] to take action necessary to neutralize the New Left," the memo read. "You must seek methods toward this end. The use of neighborhood unrest generated by the presence of New Left groups in the area in itself holds possibilities in this area."

On June 26, 1969, the Richmond office responded by saying that it was "aware of the need to take aggressive steps to discredit SSOC and New Left activities" in Richmond.

The Richmond file notes only one such measure that was considered. A split was growing between SSOC and SDS members and that discontent was voiced at a meeting of several activist groups in Edwards, Miss., in June 1969.

The Richmond office proposed that a letter be sent to several dozen radical newspapers in the South to encourage that split.

But there is no memo in the Richmond file that explains whether such an anonymous letter was sent. The file concludes with a February 1971 memorandum noting the formation of a group called Virginia Veterans for Peace in Charlottesville.

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